

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



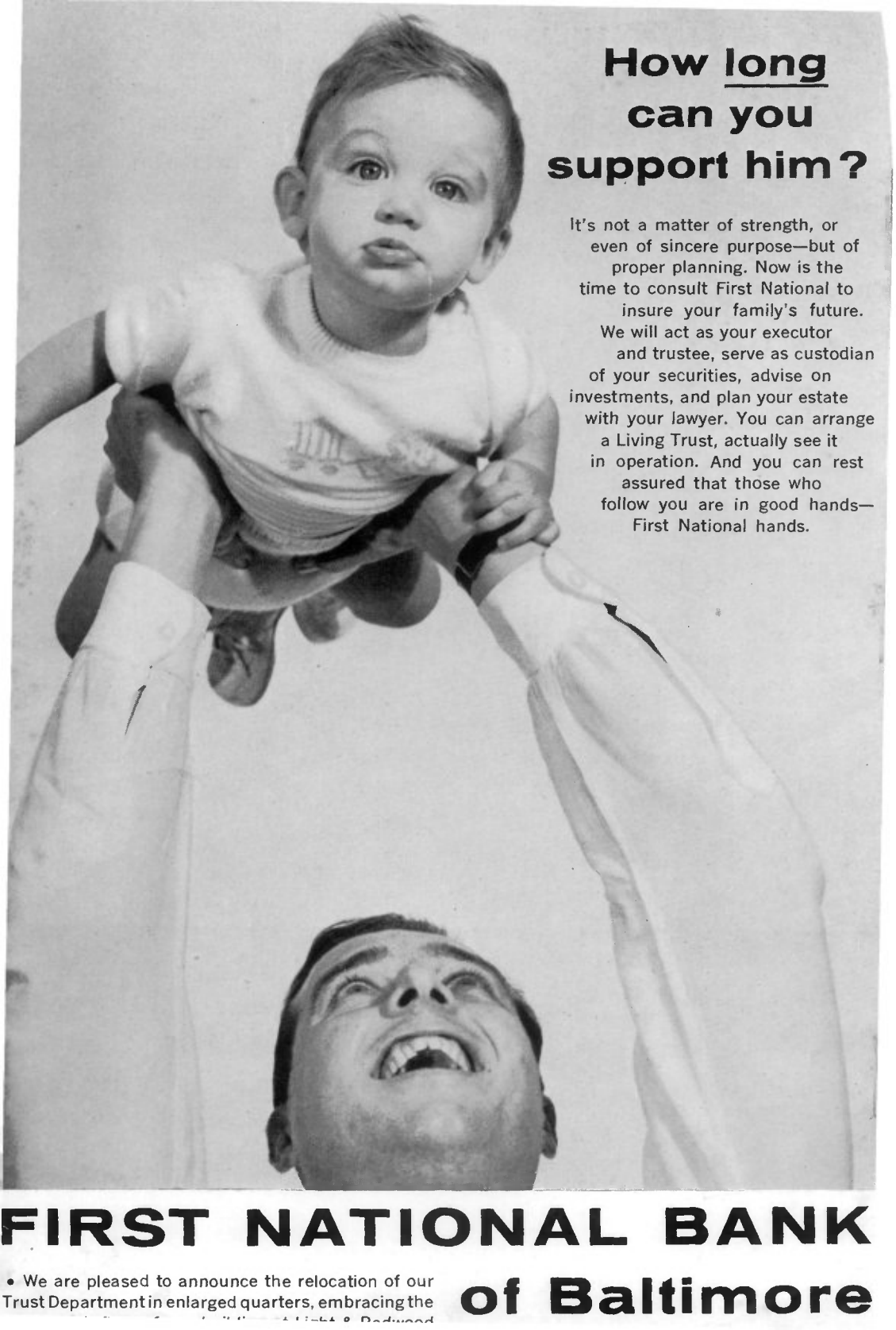
*Holt*

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Confederate Prison Life at Point Lookout  
(see page 177)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*June · 1958*



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VOL. 53, No. 2

JUNE, 1958

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RICHARD WALSH, Editor

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# THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other historical agencies; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of useful historical books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are \$8 and up, life membership \$150. Subscriptions to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, are included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 1. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1. Closed Saturdays in August.

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume 53

JUNE, 1958

Number 2

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## ROGER B. TANEY'S "BANK WAR MANUSCRIPT"

Edited by CARL BRENT SWISHER \*

ONE of the memorable struggles of American history was the "Bank War" which took place during the presidency of Andrew Jackson in the 1830's. Here the second Bank of the United States pitted its strength against the Jackson administration in an attempt to force the government to renew its charter. In the election of 1832 the Bank aligned itself with Henry Clay and the Whig party against Jackson, who sought re-election through the party which then bore his own name. The Bank justified its political activities on the ground that the country needed its services to maintain a sound currency and a sound economy. The Jacksonians attacked it on the ground of political

\* Edited with the aid of Idella Gwatin Swisher.

Deleted parts of the manuscript which were legible and seemed worthy of inclusion have been italicized and placed within angle brackets. Minor changes have been made in the text, such as the writing out of abbreviations for *and*.

intervention outside the legitimate range of the rights and duties of an agency chartered by the federal government and as a malevolent and arbitrary force which intimidated state banks and private business at will and created artificial panics among the people when doing so promoted its own interests.

Re-elected in spite of the efforts of the Bank, Jackson and his advisers set out thereafter to trim its power to safer dimensions by ceasing to use it as the depository of federal funds. The "removal of the deposits" stirred again the flames of political warfare in the legislative and executive branches. The fierceness of the battle and the ultimately complete defeat of the political forces of the Bank of the United States and the Whig element supporting it brought an end of national banking in the United States until near the close of the Civil War and thereafter kept national banking decentralized until establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913. The struggle conditioned the careers of many statesmen. Outstanding among those influenced was Roger B. Taney of Maryland, who in 1831 had given up his position as Attorney General of Maryland to become Attorney General of the United States. As an incident of the "Bank War" he was made head of the Treasury Department in 1833 on a recess appointment, and was rejected by the Senate in 1834 when his name was belatedly presented for confirmation after he had carried out the program of removal of the deposits. His support of Jackson, in a position which the hostile Daniel Webster labeled as that of a "pliant instrument," in 1835 prevented his confirmation as Associate Justice of the United States. In 1836, however, after changes in the personnel of the Senate, he was confirmed in the position of Chief Justice, a position which he held until his death in 1864.

With the possible exception of the part he played in the decision in the Dred Scott Case, Taney's experience in the "Bank War" was the outstanding experience of his mature years, and it continued to influence his thinking long after its termination. In 1839, in a document transcribed and edited in 1958 by Stuart Bruchey for the March issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> Taney detailed exciting incidents of one phase of the struggle which was peculiarly important for local Maryland history. Ten

<sup>1</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LIII (1958), 58-74, contains the first part of this document. The current issue contains the remainder.

years later the broader story was still fresh in his mind. In 1849 Taney and his family began a series of summer vacation trips to Old Point Comfort, not far from Norfolk, Virginia, but nevertheless well isolated for rest and recollection. There, prodded by the request of Francis P. Blair, an ardent Jacksonian, that he record this exciting and important phase of the history of the Jackson administration,<sup>2</sup> Taney took up his quill pen and began the story recorded below.

The end of the 1849 vacation saw the project unfinished. When Taney returned to Old Point Comfort in 1850 the drive to authorship had dissipated. "I think I told you," he wrote to his son-in-law, J. Mason Campbell, "that I would bring with me a plentiful supply of paper, pens, etc., and amuse myself while here in writing Memoirs which I have so long talked about. But an old man's habit becomes a part of his nature. I have been accustomed whenever I sit down to write anything, to have a comfortable chair, a roomy and firm table and good pens:—most commonly ready made to my hand. And these conveniences have become essential, and I feel unwilling to write even a letter, upon the little cramped up shaking table in my room, with bad pens which I cannot make better (for I could never acquire the art of making a pen) and with an inkstand which holds about ink enough to write one letter of reasonable length and nothing more. And so I have not written a word on the Memoir. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

From this point we know but little of what happened to the document. In 1854, at the same vacation spot, Taney began the writing of his autobiography, part of which was eventually published as the first chapter of Samuel Tyler's *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, LL. D.* (1872). The "Bank War Manuscript," however, was not there published. At some stage it disappeared altogether, and was rediscovered in 1929 when at a public sale in Atlanta, Georgia, a locksmith purchased an old safe. Inside he found a mass of letters and other papers. He destroyed the letters, but saved a bound manuscript, which proved to be Taney's longhand account, together with an incomplete reproduction in the hand of a copyist, made evidently on the instructions of Samuel

<sup>2</sup> See Francis P. Blair to Martin Van Buren, November 11, 1949, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> Taney to J. Mason Campbell, July 27, 1850, in possession of the editor.

Tyler. The Library of Congress acquired the document, which is available for examination in its Division of Manuscripts.

The manuscript, for all its incompleteness, greatly enriches the history of the period of the Jackson administration and illuminates the life and personality of the man who was to head the Supreme Court during a critical period of American history. Extensive use of it has been made only in the biography of Taney by Carl Brent Swisher, a book which is now out of print. The manuscript is here published in full, in the belief that the running story as told by Taney is eminently worthy of presentation. Use is made of the original manuscript in Taney's hand, with words and passages hard to decipher and oftentimes with parts struck out, and also of those pages clearly transcribed by a copyist.

Sept. 14th, 1849

I have always intended to write an account of the part I took in opposition to the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States. But infirm health and the fatigue of official duties have heretofore compelled me to postpone it; and I have found it necessary to pass the *<short>* vacations which are allowed me during some of the summer months in recreation and exercise in order to recover strength for the renewal of my judicial labors. Yet I have always felt that justice to myself and to Genl. Jackson,<sup>4</sup> and to the truth of history required of me the work I now commence. I know not whether I shall be able to complete it. But being at this time in the country with my family, at a quiet place, and without any engagements of business for a few weeks it will give me pleasant occupation to pass a few hours every day in recalling to memory and narrating the incidents of that memorable struggle made by the Bank, to *<overthrow the administration of Genl. Jackson because he was opposed to the renewal of its charter.>* compel the government to renew its charter.

As I now look back to that trying period, after the lapse of sixteen years, and remember the scene of distress and ruin and alarm which pervaded the Union and the constancy and courage with which the administration was supported by a majority of the people of the U. States, my confidence in the intelligence and public spirit of the American people gathers new strength, and my hopes become firmer that our free institution will be perpetuated. It was a fearful scene of dismay and ruin for some months after the decisive measure was adopted of removing the deposits of the public money from the Bank. It then put forth its whole strength, and its power was every where felt. The currency of the country consisted altogether of paper. There was no gold in circulation and very little in the country either hoarded or in the vaults of the Banks. The little specie

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, 1829-1837.



in circulation consisted of silver. But silver is too heavy to become the general currency of a commercial community, and is hardly ever used, except for very small transactions or the purposes of change. And when the paper currency was suddenly and violently contracted there was nothing to take its place. This sudden contraction was made by the Bank soon after the deposits were removed; and the distress and ruin which followed is without example in the history of the U. States.

It produced more real suffering than the last war with Great Britain, when her fleets took possession of our waters and her armies were landed on our shores.

It was not confined to particular places but was felt in every state. Property became unsalable. The price of produce and labor was reduced to the lowest point—commerce was embarrassed and confused, thousand and ten thousands of industrious laborers thrown out of employment, and a multitude of persons who had supposed themselves to be in affluent circumstances and in truth were so, were suddenly reduced to poverty and want. A small debt often ruined the possessor of a large property, Nobody prospered but those who *<had the means and were willing to>* could speculate upon the distress of others, or profited by the confusion in the value of the paper of the State Banks which grew out of this general want of confidence.

The power of the Bank of the U. States was not then nor is it I believe now fully understood and appreciated by the mass of the community. Also there are I doubt not many intelligent persons who at this time cannot comprehend how a mere Bank was capable of producing such a wide spread scene of ruin extending as it did from one end of the Union to the other. And as it followed immediately after the removal of the deposits many yet suppose that the removal produced it; and that the evils which the country endured were occasioned by a derangement of the currency necessarily arising from this act of the Administration. It was the policy of the Bank to create this impression, and it was vehemently insisted on during the contest, by the newspapers and others under the influence of the Bank; and reechoed day after day by the politicians in and out of the public councils who were opposed to Genl. Jackson and striving to overthrow his administration. The removal of the deposits was called tampering with the currency! And it is one of the remarkable events of that period and shows how far party spirit and disappointed ambition will carry men, when heated in the contest, that many who were avowedly opposed to the recharter of the Bank and deemed it not only inexpedient but unconstitutional, united with it in this war upon the administration and demanded the restoration of the deposits, as the only cure for the public distress. Yet it was obvious that if the administration was overthrown on this ground the recharter of the Bank was inevitable. Yet the removal of the deposits did not of itself produce the slightest commercial embarrassment or derangement of currency. They were intended to be gradually withdrawn, according to the wants of the government; and if ever that mode of withdrawal had been found more rapid

than the Bank could conveniently bear, the public wants would have been supplied as far as was proper from the new depositories. There was not the least necessity therefore for a sudden and violent contraction by the Bank of its discounts on issues of paper. It was moreover the duty of the Bank to keep itself ready at all times to pay over the whole amount of the money it held on deposit for the government upon reasonable notice. And not only to pay it over, but to do so without disordering in any degree the monetary concerns of the country. For in addition to the current expenses of the government, there was a subsisting public debt bearing interest which the administration were bound to pay off as early as practicable; and this required the government to use all the public money that could be spared from the ordinary expenses; whenever the surplus was large enough to make it important. Indeed it was only a short time before, that the government directed the whole surplus then on deposit to be paid by the Bank in discharge of the 3 percent stocks *<which it was anxious to reduce>* how the Bank endeavored to evade that order I need not now say, nor is it important to the matter in hand. I mention this order to pay away the whole surplus for the purpose of showing that while any portion of the public debt remained unsatisfied, the Bank had no right to suppose that a large deposit, would be suffered to remain for any length of time:—and that it was its duty therefore as the fiscal agent of the government, to regulate its discounts and issues so as to be ready at all times to pay over upon reasonable notice the whole amount due to the government without subjecting the community to any sensible inconvenience. If it was not in a condition to do this when the deposits were removed, it had failed in its duty to the public and did not deserve a recharter.

Undoubtedly while the Bank of the U. States continued to be the depository, the collection of public revenue gave it great advantages and enabled it to discount and to issue its notes to a larger amount than it could safely do after the deposits were removed. And the gradual removal would therefore create the necessity for a gradual curtailment. But the void thus created could have been easily filled up by the new depositories without any sensible pressure upon the business of the community, or any inconvenient diminution of the circulating medium. And if the charter was not to be renewed the time if it had not come was certainly, near at hand when this curtailment should have been begun. The Bank indeed had asserted that the time had come nearly a year before. For in its petition for the renewal of its charter, at the session of 1831, 1832, which was determined and prepared before congress met it assigns as the reason for asking a decision at that time, that if the charter was not to be renewed, it was time to prepare for winding up the affairs of the Bank by beginning at once to curtail its business. In removing the deposits the government acted upon the ground that the charter was not to be renewed. It therefore merely compelled the Bank, to do, what it had asserted that it would be its duty and its interest and was its own determination to do under such circumstances.

It is well known that the bill for the renewal of the charter which passed upon this petition was vetoed by Genl. Jackson and his reasons stated at length. And that in the election for President in the fall of 1832 this veto was made the principal ground of opposition to his reelection. His opponent Mr. Clay<sup>5</sup> was avowedly in favor of the Bank. Genl. Jackson was however reelected by an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes, and as there was not a possibility that the Bank could obtain at any time a majority of two thirds of both Houses in its favor, the reelection of Genl. Jackson was decisive against the recharter. He had officially declared that he regarded the institution as unconstitutional as well as inexpedient, and as the existing charter expired one year before his second term would end, the question as to the renewal was in fact finally decided and it was the duty of the Bank according to its own showing *<immediately after his reelection>* to begin to wind up its affairs.

The motive assigned in the petition was however a mere pretext. The Bank had no intention of beginning to wind up, if it was defeated. The real object in selecting that time to bring in the question of recharter, was to prevent the reelection of Genl. Jackson. It was a political movement. Mr. Biddle<sup>6</sup> who was then the President of the Bank, had been long enough in office, to feel that it was capable of exercising great influence in the councils of the nation and upon the community generally. He possessed an absolute control over a majority of the Board of Directors, and regulated the movements and business of the institution. In point of fact, (as most commonly happens in institutions of that kind), by means of proxies in his hands or in the hands of others in whom he confided he himself selected twenty Directors which the stockholders were authorized to elect; while the government could appoint but five. The whole power of the corporation was therefore centered in himself. He was an ambitious man; full of vanity, and loved power. He believed that by bring[ing] the weight and influence of the Bank into the approaching election he could defeat Genl. Jackson, and he wished political aspirants to see that he had defeated him.—He led the Bank therefore into the political arena determined to show its strength in political contests. The event proved that he overrated it. But he made the struggle a severe one. And although the majority for Genl. Jackson in the electoral college was very large, yet the contest in several of the states was a close one, and was considered for a time as by no means free from doubt.

The Bank was undoubtedly capable of exercising great influence and possessed power with which no corporation can be safely trusted in a republican government.

It had already established Branches at the principal places of business throughout the United States. These Branches were all governed by the

<sup>5</sup> Senator Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the Whig candidate for the presidency in 1832.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Biddle, of Pennsylvania, president of the Bank of the United States from 1823 to 1839.

central power in Philadelphia *<and could be made to move in concert at any moment>* and of course always acted in perfect harmony and concert. And the Bank could make itself felt at the same moment in every part of the U. States.

It issued notes payable at some one of these branches, and for which specie could be demanded nowhere else. Yet as these notes were by the charter of the Bank made receivable everywhere in payment of public dues, they readily circulated all over the Union, no matter how distant from the place at which they were made payable. It was the policy of the central Bank and its Branches to put in circulation as far as they could notes made payable at distant places. And it was enabled by this means to keep out a larger circulation and transact a much larger business, than its actual subsisting means of redemption would have justified. Discounts were freely made at the Southern and Western Branches, where it was known that the notes would be disbursed in the importing cities where the revenue was collected. Unless these discounts exceeded all reasonable bounds, there could be little danger of a run upon the mother Bank or any one of its Branches. The pledges of the government to receive them in payment for duties, lands and all other public demands made the U. States in effect responsible for the payment of every note issued. This guaranty of U. States sustained the credit of these notes, at the most distant places. And if by any means a large amount accumulated in the hand of an individual for which he desired to obtain species, it was always his interest to submit to a small discount rather than incur the expense and hazard of sending for the specie to a distant Branch. Upon examining the accounts of the Bank it will be found, that a very large amount of these notes were made payable at places to which the course of trade would hardly ever return them. There was a very large amount of them I recollect made payable at the Branch at Fayetteville, in North Carolina. And before the invention of railroads, very few would have been willing to travel to Fayetteville for specie, from any one of the principal importing cities, and would have preferred paying a considerable discount. These Branch notes and the guarantee of the government, gave the Bank great power over the business concerns of the country. It enabled it to expand its issues suddenly and to an immense amount when it desired to create an abundance in the circulation medium. And could create a pressure by as suddenly contracting, when a pressure upon the public was a part of the policy. This immense machine in all its parts moved at the same moment according to the unchecked will of one man. These privileges would not have been so formidable, if the Bank and its Branches had not been the depositories of the public. This daily filled its vaults and those of its Branches with the notes of different State Banks paid in for duties or for lands; or the public demands. And as the mother Bank and Branches were not bound to redeem notes made payable at another Branch, they were not obliged to receive them in the settlement of their accounts with the State Banks. They might demand the specie from the State Banks although actually debtor to it, provided the notes it offered were

not made payable at that particular Branch. And this power was freely exercised, especially toward the Banks which it did not chose to patronize.

These privileges combined placed every State Bank in the commercial cities at its mercy. It could shake the credit of any State Bank and cripple its business, by refusing its notes in payment of duties upon the ground that it did not regard it as safe. And it could compel any one of them to stop payment by holding up for a time its notes received for reissue at the various Branches and then suddenly demanding specie and refusing to receive its own notes in exchange, if not payable at that place.

The Bank itself was fully aware of this power. In a letter of Mr. Biddle to the Chairman of a committee of the Senate written some time before the question of recharter was brought before congress he states with great confidence, that it had always been in the power of the Bank of the U. States to break any State Bank it pleased; and the tone of his letter seemed to imply that he thought himself entitled to credit for his forbearance.

This statement of the power of the Bank ought in my opinion to have been of itself sufficient to prevent the renewal of the charter. It certainly would have been a most dangerous experiment to continue the existence of a monster admitted to be capable of swallowing up the whole of the State Banks. It made the existence of the State institutions dependent upon the will of a single individual. And all the advantages ascribed to the Bank of the U. States if they had been readily founded in truth, would not have compensated for the destruction of the hundreds of millions of property vested in stocks of State Banks, and the notes they had issued. As to its forbearance, it had been so crippled by its own misconduct in the early years of its existence that its power over the State Banks for some time was not very formidable. For a time indeed it needed their good will and support. And after it had recovered and reestablished its strength, its charter had but a few years to run; and it was not a time to bring upon itself the united hostility of the State institutions and the multitude of persons interested in them when it must soon ask for a renewal of its own existence. What would have happened if a recharter for twenty and thirty years had been obtained it is impossible now to say. But I believed as soon as I read Mr. Biddle's letter and believe now, that it would gradually have compelled every State Bank in the Union to wind up. His statement shows that the matter had been thought of—and that the manner in which it could be done was well understood.

The number of individuals too who were immediately within the range of its influence was immense. It had established a Branch in every State with the exception perhaps of two or three which had been but recently admitted. The Directors in all of these Branches were appointed by the mother Bank at Philadelphia and were subject to its orders. Their privileges, as well as the emoluments of the officers of the Branch were regulated by the same authority. In every instance one or more of the most eminent lawyers in the state was retained as its counsel. And at each of these Branches loans to a large amount were made, bills discounted, and other

pecuniary facilities afforded to those whom the mother Bank, or the Directors of the Branch wished to favor.

It will be readily imagined that all of these persons would be strongly tempted to advocate the renewal of the charter. Many of the debtors would look with some dismay to the loss of their usual accommodations; and the Directors and officers be most unwilling to part with the advantages and emoluments which their positions afforded them. They would with the usual infirmity of man be very apt to think that an insitution from which they themselves were deriving so much benefit, could not be very injurious to the community. And being always selected from men of high standing in society they were capable of exerting great influence in elections. Upon this great body of men spreading all over the Union, composed of debtors,—favored individuals—directors—officers—counsel and attornies, and their numerous connections and friends, the Bank naturally supposed it might rely in the contest upon which it determined to enter. With but very few exceptions it was not disappointed in its calculations. One exception however seems to be sufficiently remarkable to be remembered. John White was the Cashier of the Baltimore Branch. He did his duty so faithfully and ably that they did not venture to remove him. Yet he always openly avowed his opinion that the charter of the Bank as it then stood ought not to be renewed. And although he very properly took no active part in the elections yet he openly voted for Genl. Jackson, and for his friends throughout the contest.

*<It had increased its power over the currency and over the State Banks by a manifest evasion of its charter.>* The establishing of one of these Branches, while it increased the power of the Bank, and placed the state institutions at its mercy, cost the Bank little and required no drain of specie from the mother Bank, or any Branch previously established. Nothing more was necessary than to select some dozen Directors upon whom it supposed it could rely, select a President, Cashier and such other officers as it chose to appoint and fix their salaries, and sent to it large bundles of notes made payable at the mother Bank or other Branches, and the new Branch was at once completely established. Not a dollar of specie was necessary. The Branch proceeded to discount notes and purchase bills, and to pay out the notes which the central Bank had forwarded. The guaranty of the government made these notes current, and they could not be returned to the Branch because they were all made payable elsewhere. The collection of the revenue would soon bring into their vaults a sufficient amount of the paper of the State Banks, for which species could be demanded and obtained. And when the coffers of the Branch were by this means sufficiently filled to meet expected calls, notes were then issued by the mother Bank payable at that Branch, and put in circulation at some distant place where they would probably be used in payments to the government and be very slowly returned upon the Branch. And these Branches it continued to establish, when its own character had but a few years to run.

Besides these advantages a multitude of intelligent business men who had not carefully looked into its operations had unlimited confidence in the safety of the Bank,—and supposed it in that respect to contrast very

favorably with the State Banks. They saw that its notes were received without hesitation in every part of the Union, while the notes of the State institutions, could not be circulated except at a loss out of their immediate neighborhood. And without looking to the charter of the Bank of the United States, which made the government ultimately responsible for every note it might issue, they imputed the superior credit of its notes, to its superior management, and the supervision which it supposed the government had an opportunity of exercising over it. They regarded the universal credit given to its notes as proofs of prudent and upright management, overlooking the real foundation of this credit, which was the obligation of the United States to redeem them. They could not materially depreciate, unless the country was so flooded with them, that the whole revenue of the country could not in a reasonable time absorb them. Yet this mistaken confidence added very much [to] the power of the Bank, in a controversy which from the nature of our government was ultimately to be decided by public opinion and the votes of the people.

The Bank too had availed itself of this confidence to increase its power over the circulating medium and over the State Banks by palpable evasion of one of the provisions of its charter. The charter authorized it to issue notes of a denomination as low as five dollars signed by the President and countersigned by the Cashier. A great portion of the circulating medium consisted of five dollar notes. They were more convenient and more used in the ordinary daily business of the community and I am inclined to think must have amounted nearly to one half of the whole amount of the paper in circulation. I have no tables before me and cannot therefore speak with certainty. Nor could the exact proportion be ascertained without returns from all the State Banks.

When I speak of the circulating medium, I mean the notes used in the daily and ordinary concerns of business, and which are continually passing from hand to hand, and generally remain out for a long time without being returned upon the Bank for redemption. I think I have not over estimated the proportion which the five dollar notes formed of this description of currency.

The Bank of the U. States, could not under its charter avail itself of this circulation, to any great extent, for the labor of signing such a number of notes as would be necessary to make the amount important, was more than the President and Cashier could well undergo in addition to their other duties. Certainly Mr. Biddle with his aspiring views and gigantic plans was not a man to sit at his desk month after month to sign five dollar notes in number sufficient to supply the wants of the whole Union for that description of paper. It had therefore been supplied for some years by the local Banks. But it was for the interest of the Bank to engross if it could this circulation. For it would enable it to keep in circulation a much larger amount of paper, and thus increase its business and its profits. And what was still more important to it with its views of obtaining power over the business of the country it would give it more effectually the control of the currency, and make its power more sensibly

and universally felt when it thought proper to increase or diminish the circulation medium. It therefore contrived, in place of the five dollar notes authorized by its charter to issue what it called branch drafts:—that is one of its Branches drew a bill on another Branch for five dollars, payable to some person or Bearer, or perhaps in some instances payable to one of its own officers or to his order and indorsed by him in his official character. I am not sure as to the exact form of these Branch Drafts, as it is some years since I have seen one. But they were in the one or the other of the two forms above mentioned. They were printed on paper and in type so as to look like Bank notes. And without being even accepted by the Branch on which they were drawn, they were paid out and put in circulation as money, like their other notes. These drafts made by the Branches upon each other did not upon the face of them bind the Bank to pay them at any place, for as I have said they were not generally, if ever, accepted by the Branch on which they were drawn, and there might have been some difficulty in maintaining a suit for them against the Branch that issued them or anyone else. For they were passed from hand to hand for years without being presented to the Branch on which they were drawn; and the one that drew them could not be sued; for it was not a corporation. The Bank itself that is to say the corporation was not a party to them;—and neither drew, nor accepted nor promised to pay them. Yet it had influence enough to obtain an order from the Treasury Department directing them to be received in all cases as money in payment for government dues. And when this was done, they readily passed current in individual transaction; and shared in the general confidence reposed every where in the notes of the Bank. Indeed the community generally hardly understood the difference between these Branch Drafts, and the notes of the Bank, and received them with the same readiness and regarded them as equally safe. At the time of which I am speaking these drafts had been put in circulation to an immense amount, and constituted an important portion of the currency of the country. And it is no small proof of the power which the Bank had acquired, that it was able to circulate as money, these issues, obviously in fraud of the law to which it owed its existence and for the payment of which it was difficult to say who was responsible, or where the holder had a right to apply. It was however one of the usual fruits of a currency entirely of paper. For when that is the case, men in their ordinary business take anything they find circulating in the form of paper money—without inquiring whether it will be paid or not—and indeed often without the means of ascertaining the fact if they were disposed to inquire.—The party takes it, not because he supposes it will be paid on demand; for he does not intend to demand payment: but because he supposes he can pass it away as money when he proposes to use it. This is one of the many evils of a paper currency. Notes of no real value are confounded with the good ones, and the unwary and ignorant cheated.

This ingenious contrivance of the Bank enabled it to palm upon the public, notes for which the government was certainly not responsible,—and which the Bank itself might refuse to pay without incurring the



penalty of stopping specie payments. These Branch notes were of course never received from a State Bank in the settlement of balances, even by the Branch that issued them; except only as a matter of favor to the state institution or when from motives of policy, it was encouraging the State Banks to expand.

But its most dangerous *<influence>* and formidable power when it entered the political arena, was the corrupt and corrupting influence it *<exercised>* had acquired over the press. In every state where a Branch was established some one or more of the leading news papers were devoted to its interests. Even without any direct bribery, every paper would naturally desire the favor of the institution, on account [of] the facilities it could afford him in his business, and the advantages he would derive from the patronage of the Directors and other officers. And if the newspapers already in existence were not sufficiently faithful to the interests of the Bank, the influence of the Directors and officers was always great enough to secure the establishment of another on which it could rely. In other instances the *<bribing>* purchase was more direct. The National Intelligencer at Washington was in fact owned by the Bank. For under the name of a loan, the editors received more than the establishment was worth,—and the mortgage they made was in substance a sale, and the editors nothing more than the agents of the Bank. The case of the New York Courier and Inquirer was still more flagrant. The editors of that paper were warm friends of Genl. Jackson at his first election and had taken ground openly and strongly against the Bank. To the amazement of those who were not in the secret they suddenly changed sides—and became ardent advocates for the renewal of its charter. The whole secret however afterwards came out and it appeared that they had received secretly from Mr. Biddle as President of the Bank fifty thousand dollars. It is needless to detail this disreputable transaction here because it has been fully stated in the official report of the Examining Committee. How many other cases there were of like transactions we shall never know. But one thing is certain: that before the Bank entered in the contest, it had secured the support of the great majority of the news papers in the country. It was continually the subject of praise. Its every measure eulogized. Scarcely any newspaper found fault with it—And if Mr. Biddle believed all that was said of him and the Bank [he] had every reason to suppose that Genl. Jackson would be overwhelmed as soon as he took the field against him. With all these elements of power combined together and wielded as they were by Mr. Biddle alone, it is not a matter of surprise, that he should have supposed himself able to control the election of president.

It was a bold measure produced on his part to create a pressure in the money market throughout this country by unnecessarily contracting the currency, and charging the administration with the evils which he had himself occasioned. For the merchants and traders were the class of persons who would first feel the stringency of the money market and most seriously suffer from it. The great mass of them were in his favor in this contest, and I confess when this subject was under consideration, I did

not suppose that he would for any purpose consent to ruin his own friends; and if he attempted to do so, that I did not believe they would submit to it, much less that they would cooperate in producing it. For they are undoubtedly in this country a highly intelligent class of men, and not easily deceived where their own interests are concerned. And I believed therefore, that if any unnecessary contraction took place, they would readily understand who was responsible for it, and that Mr. Biddle would even be compelled to relax his grasp or lose their support. He evidently had some doubts himself upon this subject, and felt his way with some caution. The pressure, severe as it was, while the reelection of Genl. Jackson was pending, was nothing compared to what it became, in the final struggle after the removal of the deposits. He had by that time discovered that he had either effectually succeeded in deceiving the mercantile community, as to the true source of the evil,—or that they felt they were in his power and compelled to support him at all hazards. For they not only held meetings everywhere denouncing the removal of the deposits and sent committees and deputations without number to Washington to encourage the friends of the Bank, and intimidate its opponents, but they passed resolutions, declaring in effect that unless the deposits were restored the commerce of the country was ruined, and general bankruptcy must follow. When the merchants said so of themselves, the rest of the community very naturally believed them. Credit was destroyed. With all Mr. Biddle's power over the currency he could have produced nothing more than a severe and trying pressure; if left to his own resources; but by the aid of the merchants and politicians, he created a fearful panic: deepening in intensity every day for some months and overwhelming with ruin many of the friends of the Bank as well as its opponents. It required no little stoicism to say the least of it, to press matters to this extent. He could by a word have changed the whole aspect of affairs in a single week. Yet in the midst of the cries of distress which rose up daily from every quarter of the country, Mr. Biddle sat unmoved in the marble palace of the Bank, calm as a summer morning. So at least one of his friends (Mr. Frelinghuysen)<sup>7</sup> took occasion to say in the Senate of the United States in a speech made in the midst of this deplorable ruin, which Mr. Biddle had himself produced and which Mr. Frelinghuysen was then speaking to aggravate. Nero is said to have fiddled while Rome was burning. But I have not learned from history that even his courtiers praised him for doing so. It is true Mr. Frelinghuysen charged the ruin around him upon the administration. He may have believed it. But Mr. Biddle knew better. And I am satisfied that no intelligent man who lived at that time and witnessed what was passing in Washington could doubt, but that (the) ruin he everyday witnessed was wilfully produced by the Bank and the panic designedly created by its supporters; and was not the necessary consequence of the acts of the administration. Every member of the Senate

<sup>7</sup> Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, who as a friend of Nicholas Biddle was now in the camp of the Whigs.

I doubt not knew and believed this as firmly as I did; and the Senator above mentioned and every other senator who professed to deplore the public calamity, and who daily declaimed against the administration for producing it, were seeking by those very speeches to enhance the evil and to render the general suffering and distress by that means more intense; in the hope of casting the odium upon the President and his friends, and driving them from power. My experience and observation of the events of that period have convinced me that there are more ambitious politicians who act upon the principal of rule or ruin than are willing to acknowledge it to themselves. Undoubtedly there were thousands and tens of thousands of honest men who were led by party prejudices to believe in these speeches,—and who still believe in them. But the Senators and representatives in Congress had better means of information and could not have been deceived. Certainly they knew that to enhance and aggravate the panic was not the way to relieve the public distress. As this plan upon which the deposits were removed to the State Banks was matured and executed by me, I must necessarily speak almost continually of myself in this narrative: and I shall speak in the first person because it is the shortest and most direct mode. It would be mere affection to do otherwise.

Genl. Jackson offered me the office of Attorney General of the United States in June 1831; I accepted it, and soon after entered upon the duties of the office. I can say most truly that I did not desire the office; and accepted it with reluctance. When I received this appointment, I was the Attorney General of Maryland. This was the only office I ever coveted; although I certainly never asked for it and never made the slightest effort to obtain it. Nor did I desire it for the purpose of emolument. For the duties were performed and the fees received by my deputies in all of the courts of the state except in the court of appeals to which very few cases were removed, and where the fees allowed by law were too small to make the office desirable as a matter of profit to any lawyer; even to one of most moderate standing. But it had been most commonly filled by highly gifted and eminent men; and my family on both the Father and Mothers side have been for so many generations Maryland people, that I have always felt strong Maryland attachments; and having no desire for political distinction or power, my highest ambition was to receive the highest Bar honor in my native state; and to be thought worthy of succeeding the distinguished lawyers who had held the office before me. I left it with reluctance. For I had had no particular connection with the public affairs of the United States and had very little acquaintance with any of the leading men of the general government out of Maryland. But when General Jackson offered me this appointment his first cabinet had been just dissolved. He was at that time vehemently assailed, not only by his old enemies but by new ones who had before been his friends. I had scarcely any personal acquaintance with him; and knew him only from his public acts and the history of his life. But yet my feelings toward him were warmer than mere political confidence. Pains had been taken to wound not only his fame, but his feelings and affections.—His wife

had been most wantonly and cruelly introduced into the electioneering contest. She had been defamed and traduced in the most ferocious spirit. The ungenerous and unmanly attacks upon her character had not been confined to the low and the base, but put forward again and again by every newspaper which supported the rival candidate; from the highest to the lowest; and if not instigated and encouraged, they were yet undoubtedly countenanced and encouraged by all the political leaders opposed to him. I should have grieved to see a high and noble spirit beaten down by those who had thus wantonly tortured him, and broken the heart of the excellent wife to whom he was so devotedly attached. It seemed to me that every man who by his support of him in 1824 had made him so prominent in the canvass of 1828 and by that means brought on him this vindictive rivalry, was bound to do more than give him a mere cold political support; was bound to make personal sacrifices if they were necessary to support his administration while he continued to deserve his confidence and continued to be unjustly assailed. Such sacrifices seemed to me to be necessary where new enemies were combining with the old ones, to wage war against him in the same fierce spirit of personal hostility. And understanding that he had some difficulty as to the office of Attorney General I accepted it, as I have said with reluctance but without hesitation. I certainly did not count upon being anything more than the law officer of the government, and never dreamed that I should become a prominent actor in the most prominent event of his administration. In a country like ours where exciting political subjects follow each other in rapid succession, some of the influences under which we have at times acted pass away from our own minds and cannot easily be understood or appreciated by those who come subsequently upon the stage and did not mingle in the conflict. But the feelings which I entertained toward General Jackson, and which strongly influenced my decision to accept the place of Attorney General of the United States were at that period common to thousands of those who had supported him in the warm and exciting contests which began in 1824, and indeed in his election in 1828. We gathered around as personal friends who felt and resented the cruel destruction of his domestic happiness. In a pecuniary point of view the office was a losing one to a lawyer in full practice in a large commercial city: and at the same time the most laborious in the government, with the exception of that of the President himself.

It is proper here to state because it was frequently made the subject of remark during the Panic war, that I was one of the old Federal party. I certainly belonged to that party from the time I was old enough to exercise the right of suffrage, and would not have accepted the office General Jackson offered me, if my acceptance had implied any change of my political principles or any abandonment of the party to which I had been attached. This General Jackson knew as well as I did, and his previous cabinet as well as the one of which I was a member was formed without reference to former party divisions. The main point in dispute between the old parties concerned our foreign relations. And upon these

questions the interest taken on both was so intense that other questions were regarded as of secondary consideration. For many years before the last war with England we appeared every day to be upon the verge of a break with France or England or both. And when the war was over the Federal party as it existed before was dissolved by the events of the war. This is not the place to vindicate it, or to show why it was dissolved. But it may not be improper to say so far as Maryland is concerned that during the war, the deepest dissatisfaction was felt by the greater number of the prominent Federalists of the State with the conduct of the Eastern Federalists. For while the enemy was in the midst of us spoiling our cities, and burning our houses and plundering our property, and the citizens of the state without distinction of party were putting forth their whole strength and bleeding in its defense—those with whom the Maryland Federalists had been associated as political friends in the Eastern States and whom they had regarded and treated as the leaders of the party, were holding the Hartford Convention,—talking about Disunion:—conferring with one another in secret conclave: Demanding from us as one of the Southern States, a surrender of a portion of the political weight secured to us by the constitution: Making this Demand too in the hour of our distress, when the enemy was upon us:—They were moreover using every exertion in their power to destroy the credit and cripple the means (?) of the General government, feeble as [it] then was: and leaving us to defend ourselves as well as we could by our own resources. It will readily be imagined that after this, the federalists of Maryland would hardly desire to continue the party association and continue the lead in hands *<so indifferent to the interests>* who appeared to be not only indifferent to the sufferings of our citizens but ready to take advantage of the peril in which the State was placed, to extort from it the surrender of a portion of its legitimate power. We thought it time that the party connection should be dissolved.

There was no general concert of action between the members of the old Federal party in relation to the general government after the close of the war. Mr. Monroe<sup>8</sup> was elected without opposition—nor was there any organized opposition to him during his administration. Indeed some of the Federalists of the Eastern States who had been most prominent and active in the reprehensible proceedings which I have just mentioned seemed anxious to enrol themselves under his banner, and to be recognized as his political friends.

At the election of 1824 when Genl. Jackson was first brought forward, Mr. Crawford<sup>9</sup> was the regularly nominated candidate of the old Democratic party; and with but very few exceptions, the leading men of that party were every where opposed to Genl. Jackson and denouncing him as wholly unfit for the office. In the Eastern states the great body of the

<sup>8</sup> James Monroe, President of the United States, 1817-1825.

<sup>9</sup> William H. Crawford, of Georgia.

Federalists united with the Democrats in supporting Mr. Adams,<sup>10</sup> who up to that time had been particularly obnoxious to the old Federal party on account of the time manner and circumstances under which he deserted it and went over to their opponents. But in Maryland the far greater number of the Federalists who had taken a leading part in politics supported Genl. Jackson, whom they preferred to either Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams; and at their head was Charles Carroll of Carrollton:—While the prominent men of the old democratic party, with very rare exceptions opposed.<sup>11</sup> . . . *<became one party when these principles and members were opposed by an organized opposition.>* But it was a new party formed of persons who had belonged to both the old ones—and the Federalists and Democrats of former times who composed it, both found themselves in direct opposition to old party associates. There was nothing in the principles or measures of the administration of General Jackson, in any degree inconsistent with the doctrines of the old Federal party with which I had acted. And it is due to truth to say so far as the Federalists of Maryland are concerned, that it was composed of pure, patriotic and enlightened men sincerely devoted to the cause of liberty and free institutions; and I have never seen any cause to regret my association with it nor to change any political opinion that I then held in common with my party friends. I speak only of the Federalists of Maryland because I knew personally and intimately almost every prominent man of the party in the State; and had very little acquaintance out of it. And what I now say I have never concealed but have always up to this day made it a point to say it openly whenever the occasion seemed to make it proper to speak upon the subject. Undoubtedly both of the old parties committed errors. And perhaps the greatest error of the Federal party (and it was one that led to others) was in electing Mr. Adams<sup>12</sup> as the successor of General Washington. Certainly nobody would at this day think of proposing an alien or sedition law. Neither would anyone think of dismantling our ships of the line and Frigates and going back to Mr. Jefferson's<sup>13</sup> Gun Boats. Nor of relying upon an embargo, or non intercourse to repel the insults or injuries of a foreign nation General Jackson certainly did not follow in the footsteps of either party in these respects. And although some time after his election those of his friends who had belonged to the old Democratic party, were anxious for the purposes of political influence to take again that name and although it is now claimed that his election was a victory of the old Democratic party and the party who supported him the legitimate representative of that party as contradistinguished from the old Federal party, yet it was not the name recognized at his election nor for some years afterwards. Nor could he have

<sup>10</sup> John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, 1825-1829.

<sup>11</sup> Manuscript page torn out.

<sup>12</sup> John Adams, President of the United States, 1797-1801.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, 1801-1809.

been elected if brought forward under it. The questions upon parties were afterwards formed while he was at the. . .<sup>14</sup>

I proceed to the narrative. The first discussion which took place in relation to the Bank was at a Cabinet Council, held in the Presidents office a few days before the commencement of the session of December 1831. The meeting was called to hear the annual message which had been prepared under the President's direction, and which he proposed to send in.

It will be remembered that the first cabinet had been dissolved after the close of the preceding session of Congress; and Mr. Barry<sup>15</sup> the Postmaster General was the only one retained in the new arrangement. Mr. Livingston<sup>16</sup> had succeeded Mr. Van Buren<sup>17</sup> as Secretary of State: Mr. McLane<sup>18</sup> was Secretary of the Treasury in place of Mr. Ingham;<sup>19</sup> General Cass<sup>20</sup> in the War Department in place of Genl. Eaton;<sup>21</sup> and Mr. Woodbury<sup>22</sup> in that of the Navy instead of Mr. Branch.<sup>23</sup>—I had succeeded Mr. Berrien<sup>24</sup> as Attorney-General.

The former messages of the President had taken ground strongly against the renewal of the charter, and stated his conviction that it was unconstitutional as well as inexpedient and dangerous to the liberties of the country. But they had been prepared with his former cabinet about him. Their opinions upon the subject were not generally known, but they were supposed to be adverse to the Bank.

In the new Cabinet it was well understood that Mr. McLane was in favor of a renewal of the charter; and that his opinion was known to the President, before he appointed him to the Treasury Department. The charter had been granted upon the ground that it was a necessary fiscal agent for the government: in collecting and disbursing the revenue: and the question of recharter therefore so far as concerned its expediency or necessity more properly belonged to the consideration of the Secretary of the Treasury, than to that of any other member of the Cabinet. It was on that account very naturally believed that his opinions in relation to the Bank, would be likely to have more weight with the President than those of any other member of the new cabinet. and his appointment to the Treasury Department with a previous knowledge of his opinion created

<sup>14</sup> Taney here removed a number of his manuscript pages, some for omission and others for reinsertion elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster General 1829-1835.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, Secretary of State 1831-1833.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State 1828-1831, President of the United States, 1837-1841.

<sup>18</sup> Louis McLane, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury, 1831-1833, Secretary of State 1833-1834.

<sup>19</sup> Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury 1829-1831.

<sup>20</sup> Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of War 1831-1837.

<sup>21</sup> John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War 1829-1831.

<sup>22</sup> Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy 1831-1834, Secretary of the Treasury 1834-1841. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1846-1851.

<sup>23</sup> John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy 1829-1831.

<sup>24</sup> James McP. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General 1829-1831.

some doubt whether the President's own views had not to some extent undergone a change.

It was certainly not a judicious movement to bring into that Department, a Secretary who was openly and decidedly opposed to him, if he was still determined to carry out the opinions he had expressed. His opposition to the recharter of the Bank and his plan for the reform of the currency which was connected with and intended to follow the defeat of the Bank were the great leading measures of his administration. The public mind was already much excited and divided upon them; and would evidently become more so. And the appointment of a Secretary of the Treasury who differed with him must seriously embarrass his own course, as well as that of the friends who agreed with him in opinion; while it gave countenance and confidence to his adversaries. It added the whole political influence of that Department to their strength, which was already sufficiently formidable. . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . President were placed by him in the hands of some one with directions as to his own views, for the purpose of being arranged in the form of a message. This was usually done by Mr. Livingston while he was Secretary of State in whom the President had great confidence. And most commonly where the President concurred in the views of the head of the Department, the very language of the latter was followed in the part of the message appropriated to the business of that Department. When the Message was thus prepared it was read in the cabinet, and any part of it deemed objectionable by any member was fully and freely discussed in the presence of the President who of course finally decided for himself how it should stand—and whether any alterations in the language used or opinions expressed should or should not be made. The Attorney General having no Department had no statement to make previous to the preparation of the Message and generally knew nothing of what it was to contain until it was read in Cabinet. This was my situation as to the Message of Decem. 1831. And knowing the opinions *<of Mr. Livingston who had read the Draught of the Message, and>* of Mr. McLane to whose Department the question as to the Bank more immediately belonged, I listened with a good deal of interest and anxiety when Mr. Donelson<sup>26</sup> who was reading it came to that part of the message. I was startled when I heard it read—and the impression it made upon me was that it implied that although the President still entertained the opinions expressed in his former messages, yet that he had performed his whole duty in stating them; and that he would now defer to the representatives of the people and abide by the decision of Congress. It will be remembered that this was a new Congress elected since he had made known in his messages his objections to the Bank and stated fully the ground upon which he was opposed to a recharter. And I thought it might be implied from the language now used, that having brought the subject to the attention of the people of the U. States, he was prepared

<sup>25</sup> Manuscript page torn out.

<sup>26</sup> Andrew Jackson Donelson, nephew and secretary to President Jackson.



to acquiesce in their decision—and would regard the action of the new Congress whatever it should be as an expression of their will.

The sentence of the message as it then stood, to which I objected was different from the one finally adopted by the President. The paragraph which relates to the Bank, after stating that he still entertained the opinions set forth in his former messages and had felt it his duty to lay them before Congress and to bring them to the public attention concludes with the following sentence:

"Having conscientiously discharged a constitutional duty I deem it proper on this occasion without a more particular reference to the views of the subject then expressed to leave it for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives."<sup>27</sup>

The sentence as it originally stood was I think as follows:

"Having conscientiously discharged a constitutional duty I deem it proper without a more particular reference to the subject to leave it to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives."

I may not give the precise words of the original draught—for I have no copy of it, and it is many years since the event took place of which I am speaking. But I believe I give the very words. For it was the first Message after I became Attorney Genl. I was new in Cabinet discussions and in the concerns of the General government and was comparatively a stranger to Genl. Jackson: for all of the other members of his council had been in public life with him before he became President, and had been personally and familiarly known to him for many years. It was my first conflict in the cabinet; I stood alone in it; and in opposition to Mr. Livingston and Mr. McLane who were experienced politicians, and in both of whom I knew that the President at that time reposed the highest confidence. The duty of making this objection I felt to be an unpleasant one and the whole scene is yet strongly impressed on my memory.<sup>28</sup>

I thought otherwise; and that it would be inferred from this message, that the President merely meant to justify himself for what he had before said in his messages—that he considered himself as having discharged his whole constitutional duty in bringing the subject before the congress and presenting his views of it to the public: and that he was now prepared to submit his judgment to the decision of congress, regarding that decision as speaking the will of the people. That I did not suppose the President meant this, but he had called a new cabinet about him and every word upon this subject in his message would be carefully and anxiously scanned. For it would naturally be supposed that the opinions and arguments of the advisors with whom he had now surrounded himself, might in some degree influence his course; and might produce some change in his measures. And if it was supposed that he considered what he had already

<sup>27</sup> See James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 558.

<sup>28</sup> Manuscript page torn out. This deletion unfortunately deprives the reader of the central portion of Taney's statement of his own position as then taken.

done as all that his duty required of him, and that he would sign an act for the renewal, if congress should pass one, many of those who were prepared to go with him in opposition to the Bank, would be discouraged and fall off; while its friends and advocates would gather new strength; and put forward more vigorous efforts.

Mr. Livingston *<favored>* supported the message as it stood and did not think the inferences I suggested would be drawn from it. He however did not take a very earnest or leading part in the discussion. He had in truth paid but little attention to the financial operations of the government or to questions of political economy or the currency. He was fond of literary pursuits and philosophical studies, and loved to mingle in society with persons of similar tastes. He had no ambition for high office and did not aspire to the Presidency. The place of Secretary of State was I am sure the only one he would have accepted in the cabinet. It engaged him in historical researches, and in the study and application of the laws of nations and of the principles on which they were based. He was truly a philanthropist:—a scholar—an amiable and accomplished gentleman; and a delightful companion in the social circle. And when he came into office I have no doubt he looked forward to the embassy to France which he afterwards received. It suited his tastes and cast of mind far better than the intrigues and angry conflicts of political life. He had been aid de camp to Genl. Jackson during the campaign at New Orleans—and was one of his principal advisers in the measures so energetically (and as I have always thought *lawfully*) taken to repress and punish treason within his lines. He was warmly attached to Genl. Jackson, and had the highest respect for his judgment in any matter, where he believed that the General had bestowed his attention upon it. The attachment was mutual. The principal object of Mr. Livingston seemed to be to avoid any decided movement in relation to the Bank until after the next election of President. He thought I have no doubt that if there was no strong popular excitement upon the subject, Genl. Jackson would certainly be reelected: and in that event charter for a bank of the U. S. might be framed that would avoid the President's objections to the existing one; and at the same time be useful and beneficial to the public. And not having turned his attention particularly to the subject, he had without examination imbibed the opinion which extensively prevailed before the election of Genl. Jackson that a bank of the U. States in some form or other was desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the convenient collection of the revenue and the financial operations of the government.

This discussion as I have already said, in support of the paragraph as it originally stood, was conducted chiefly by Mr. McLane. He objected strongly to any alteration. Mr. McLane was an ambitious man; loved power, and aspired to the Presidency which he confidently expected to reach. He had been many years in Congress; and was for some time chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, which had made him familiar with the financial concerns of the country *<and the manner of*

*collecting and disbursing the revenue*>. This circumstance gave his opinions weight in the cabinet and he was sensible of it.

He had always been in favor of a bank of the U. States, and his close intimacy with Mr. Biddle and with the Barings <sup>29</sup> in England made him perhaps more zealous in its support. He was an accomplished diplomatist, and exercised as much diplomacy in Washington to carry his measures as he would at a foreign court; and he had a remarkable talent at managing men with whom he came in contact, who were inferior to himself in strength of mind or firmness of purpose. He had great tact, and always knew whether he should address himself to the patriotism, the magnanimity, the pride, the vanity, the hopes or the fears of the person on whom he wished to operate. And he thus always had a clique about him wherever he was in power over whose opinions he exercised a controlling influence.

His mistake was in underating the *<intelligence>* strength and independence of the President's mind; and the extent of his information. He expected to manage him. Mr. McLane had belonged to the party which supported Mr. Crawford in 1824, in opposition to both Genl. Jackson and Mr. Adams; and it was their policy at that time to represent him as one who possessed but little of the sagacity experience or information of a statesman, and who was incompetent on that account to discharge the high duties of a President of the U. States; and that if elected the measures of his administration would be influenced by the men around him. I have no doubt the leaders of the Crawford party thought so; and when they afterwards supported Genl. Jackson in 1828 in opposition to Mr. Adams, they expected to govern him. Mr. Van Buren was his first Secretary of State and soon found out that this was a mistake and shaped his course accordingly. But Mr. McLane went abroad as minister to England soon after Genl. Jackson entered upon the duties of his office. He returned with the impressions which he had carried away with him. He supposed Genl. Jackson utterly ignorant in matters of finance and the currency, and supposed his former messages about the Bank were written under the influence of others. He evidently believed that he would be able to change his opinions, and induce him to assent to the continuance of the charter with some slight and unimportant modification, as a salve to the Presidents consistency. And with his projects of ambition before him—he was by no means insensible of the claims he would have upon Mr. Biddle if he could smooth the way to a recharter—nor of the influence which those interested in the continuance of the Bank might exercise in the selection of a successor to Genl. Jackson.

Genl. Cass said very little. He merely stated his approbation of the message as read—and that he did not think any alteration advisable. He agreed he said with Mr. McLane.

Genl. Cass had migrated to the west, when he was a young man, and

<sup>29</sup> Baring Brothers and Company, an insurance firm known throughout the civilized world.

had always afterwards lived there. He was a lawyer by profession.—Indeed every member of the cabinet, and the President himself were lawyers who had been actively and successfully engaged in the profession. Genl. Cass abandoned the law and entered the army in the war of 1812 and served with much distinction. He was afterwards Governor of Michigan when it was a territory; and had never been in the public counsels at Washington until he was invited by the President to take charge of the War Department. He was a scholar and fond of scientific pursuits. But he had turned his attention as a public man altogether to the affairs of the West—and to the character history habits and interests of the aboriginal inhabitants with which he was surrounded. He knew nothing of the financial concerns of the country except only as concerned its revenue from lands and had never bestowed a thought I believe upon the operations of the Bank, nor considered whether it was or was not necessary to the collection of the revenue and the intercourse of Commerce, nor whether its charter was authorized by the constitution of the U. States; or its power over the currency so great as to make it dangerous to the government. His disposition was kind and amiable and his yielding kindness bordered on that unfortunate weakness in a public man which makes him unwilling to say no to any proposition not morally wrong, when covertly pressed upon him by one whom he esteemed although he possessed a very high order of intellect this facile temper made him unwilling to come in conflict with his associates, upon any measure of policy strongly and perseveringly urged: His opinions were therefore often influenced by men of stronger will and firmer purposes who were not his superiors in reach of intellect or extent of information. Mr. McLane perfectly understood his character and exercised over him great influence while they were in the cabinet together. Indeed his opinions upon almost every thing that did not immediately concern his Department, seemed to be indistinct and unsteady, and took their color for the time very much from those who were around him and desired to impress upon him their own views—He too looked to the Presidency. Yet I think he had no very anxious desire to attain it; and he certainly never intrigued for it. The aspiration seemed to me to be implanted by others who were seeking to use him for other purposes, and not to spring from his own inherent ambition to obtain power or high political station.

Mr. Woodbury expressed no opinion upon the subject. He suggested some changes in words or phrases which he supposed might reconcile the difference between Mr. McLane and myself, and be acceptable to both of us and to the President. But he did not say whether he thought them advisable or not, nor whether he would or would not prefer a change in the message.

Mr. Woodbury was a trained politician. He was perfectly familiar with the operations of the Bank and had no doubt carefully examined the principles on which the charter had been justified.—He had been much engaged in public life and was familiar with all the proceedings of the general government. But he was a singularly wary and cautious man;

unwilling to commit himself upon any opinion upon which he was not obliged immediately to act and never further than that action required. And if he expressed an opinion upon a measure he most commonly added to it so many qualifications and limitations and doubts, that he sometimes appeared to take it back again. He was a man of a strong and astute mind: of great industry, which carefully gathered together all the information that could be obtained upon any subject before him; even to the smallest matters of detail. He had I presume his own opinions and views well defined in his own mind—but did not deem it prudent to disclose them too distinctly even to his friends and associates. Nor could I on this occasion understand what he thought either of the constitutionality or expediency of the Bank—nor what course under existing circumstances he would recommend the President to take. But whatever his opinions were, they were certainly his own, and never impressed upon him by the influence of others. In this respect he was entirely unlike Genl. Cass. It was said however that like him he aspired to the Presidency. I rather think he did.—But if he had any views of that sort he kept them to himself—and determined to work them out in his own way and in his own time; and in a manner that would not bring him prematurely into rivalry or conflict with the other aspirants.

Mr. Barry the Postmaster General said nothing. He was warmly attached to the President and had the most unlimited confidence in his judgment in everything. He was a man of warm and generous feelings—ready to serve a friend to the uttermost extent of his power and at almost any sacrifice on his own part. He declaimed eloquently and beautifully and was particularly impressive before a jury or a public assembly. But he was greatly deficient in practical talents, thought loosely and reasoned loosely and without point. Such at least he was at the time of which I am speaking. Unfortunate habits which he afterwards contracted may have changed for the worse the brighter parts of his character. His sad mismanagement of the post office arising altogether from his own want of practical talent, and his unbounded confidence in others, brought upon him bitter attacks from political opponents; nor could his friends with all their kind feeling to him always vindicate his conduct. This soured him, and perhaps alienated him in some measure from Genl. Jackson. But at the time of which I speak I am sure he had no desire to alter anything which the President approved nor to resist an alteration if the President desired it. *<Such was the Cabinet with which I was first associated—and such the scene in the first serious opposition which I witnessed in it. I had been a member of it but a short time, and had no previous acquaintance with any of my colleagues, beyond that of a mere introduction, or a casual meeting, until I entered upon the duties of Attorney General. They knew me and I knew them by character only, until we came together as members of General Jacksons Cabinet.>*

The discussion continued for some time, and until I saw that the President was worried and desired it to end. He had interposed occasionally as it went on, and my objection was evidently new to him and unlooked

for. He finally said that he certainly did not mean *<in that message>* to have it understood *<by that message>* that he was prepared to sign any bill that Congress might pass for continuing the Bank; nor did he think it necessary to say at that time that he would veto it. It would be time enough when he saw the act and its provisions, if one should be passed *<and presented to him.>* But he intimated that the clause in question did not appear to him to be liable to the objections I had taken—and he did not at that time seem to be disposed to make any alternation;—and I left the Cabinet meeting when it broke up, with the belief that I had failed and that no alteration would be made: and with strong doubts also whether under the influence of his new advisers he would not be persuaded to consent to the recharter of the Bank with some plausible but unsubstantial restrictions on its power. But I did not then know Genl. Jackson as well as I afterwards knew him. If I had, these doubts would never have been entertained.

If the President had written the paragraph himself, he would have left no doubt about its meaning: nor of what he had determined to do. His mind was bold, and frank, and straightforward. His conclusions were never cloudy or indistinct. He always saw his object clearly, and came up to it openly and directly. And when he had made up an opinion, whether he expressed it orally or in writing nobody could misunderstand what he meant. But he had never studied the niceties of language, and disliked what he was apt to regard as mere verbal criticisms. And when he read any paper prepared under his directions, he always read it with the strong convictions of his own mind upon the subject, and with an undoubting confidence that his instructions had been fully carried out. For he reposed unlimited confidence in the frankness and fair-dealing of those whom he respected enough to consult or call about him; and always listened reluctantly to any criticism upon the language of a paper prepared under his directions; and seemed to apprehend that the writer might feel mortified, if it was determined that he had imputed to *<the President>* him opinions he did not entertain—or failed to execute the instructions under which the paper was written. From the earnestness and tenacity with which Mr. McLane defended this paragraph, it was evident that he himself had prepared it: and that it had been adopted in his own words by Mr. Livingstone in arranging the message. The President I am sure was the more unwilling to make alterations because he saw that Mr. McLane would be dissatisfied and perhaps a little hurt if the paper was materially changed.

There was another trait in the character of Genl. Jackson which ought not to be overlooked: for although it endeared him to his friends as a man, it brought upon him many difficulties as President *<and greatly strengthened the hands of the opposition.>* It was this: he never felt the least dissatisfaction with any one of his Cabinet for opposing him or his most favorite measures, when the opposition was made openly and fairly, and conducted with proper decorum. Frank himself, (perhaps almost to a fault in a public man,) he loved frankness in others; and regarded

opposition to his opinions, by one who held office under him, as evidence of firmness as well as honesty of purpose. It did not diminish his confidence in or friendship for the party, when he believed the advice to be given from an honest desire to promote the usefulness and success of his administration. And he carried this feeling so far that he had brought into his then Cabinet men whom he knew differed with him on this great and exciting measure *<of his administration>*; and afterwards when he had nearly made up his mind to the decisive step of removing the deposits, he brought in Mr. Duane as Secretary of the Treasury without first ascertaining what were his opinions, or how far he could rely on his cooperation. He had the most abiding confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the American people, and always believed that if his measures were right, they would support him in carrying them out, whatever the members of his Cabinet might think or say upon the question. And when in Cabinet discussions doubts were suggested whether a movement would be supported or not, or supposed to be of a character that would alienate his friends in any particular portion of the Union, his reply most commonly was, never fear, the people will understand it: and if we do right Providence will take care of us." Determined to act upon his own opinions he was yet willing to let the opposing opinions of any member of his Cabinet go before the people and to abide the consequences. But by forming his Cabinets upon these principles he undoubtedly embarrassed his administration and endangered its success.—He in that way raised up obstacles to the execution of his own measures: and then found himself compelled to remove them. This was always unpleasant, made new enemies: and weakened his strength. It compelled him to dissolve his first Cabinet, and led to *<unpleasant>* conflicts and changes in the one of which I was a member.

The Cabinet should certainly be composed of men who concur with the President in his leading measures. He ought to bring in no one, whose opinions are not well known to him, although he may call himself his political friend and perhaps belong to the same party. The Executive Department in its head and members should be an unit. For opposition in a member of the Cabinet is far more formidable than the opposition of the same person out of it, especially if he happens to have aspiration for the Presidency, and with some prospects of success. The Administration of Genl. Jackson is a striking illustration of this. The appointment of the two Secretaries of the Treasury who preceded me, induced many to suppose he would abandon the ground he had taken, and increased and encouraged the hopes of a recharter. It made the final contest upon a measure upon which he had *<so early>* taken his stand in his inaugural address, and in which his opinions never afterwards wavered for a moment, *<a fearful one upon the interests of the country>* a far more severe and doubtful one than it need have been.

For if he had taken care never to bring into his cabinet any one who differed with him on this subject, and it had always been understood to be the united determination of the President and his whole Cabinet to

resist the recharter the public mind would have looked for that decision more calmly, and the Bank would have been far less able to excite the public mind and produce the panic and ruin occasioned by its desperate struggles. There would have been no petition for a recharter at the session of 1831 and 1832, if Mr. Biddle had not supposed that the new cabinet would either induce the President to sign the act: or send in a veto so conciliatory in its terms as would insure a charter at the next session.

*(To be continued)*



# ROGER BROOKE TANEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THOMAS ELLICOTT IN THE BANK WAR

Edited by STUART BRUCHEY

*(Concluded from March)*

I was appointed Secretary of the Treasury on the 23. of September 1833. The order for the removal was given on the 26th. of the same month to take effect on the 1st. of October following. Mr. Ellicott had returned to Baltimore after the conference already mentioned; but having learned that two of my political friends had come to Washington to urge the selection of the Bank of Baltimore, he hastened back again to take care of the interests of the Union Bank. I do not remember whether he arrived before or after the Presidents decision in favor of his Bank; but my impression is that he came before, & had an interview with the President. But however this may be, he was in Washington on the day the question was disposed of, and when he understood what it was, expressed to me a wish that the Bank of Maryland could have been appointed a deposite Bank together with the Union Bank. I told him it was impossible—that its capital was too small; and that if I should deem it advisable at some future time, to select another in Baltimore, it would probably be the Bank of Baltimore. On the same day he returned home, & I did not see him again until after the visit of Mr. Perine and Mr. Johnson to Washington.

The first private letter I received from Mr. Ellicott was dated October 2d. the day after his fiscal agency began. It is marked with reference to this narrative No. 1.—A considerable amount of the money paid on account of duty bonds into the Union Bank on the 1st. of the month, consisted of notes of the Bank of the U. States payable at other places. Upon sending them to the office in Baltimore it declined receiving them in settlement of the account of the Union Bank, and requested time to consult the mother Bank, & promised to give an answer on the Saturday following. Mr. Ellicott on the 2d. in an official letter reported to the Department what had taken place, & on the same day wrote the private letter abovementioned. This letter is important in one point of view—as it states in strong terms the pressure and difficulties in Baltimore, & urges the necessity of withdrawing a portion of the money from the Bank of the U. States immediately & placing it in the State Banks upon security to be given by them. This letter it will be observed was written the day

before the mission of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine to Washington, and was received by me, on the morning of the day on which they arrived.

Connected with this subject it is also proper to state that on the same day that I received Mr. Ellicotts official and private letters, I received official letters from Mr. Newbold & Mr. Fleming Presidents of two of the deposite Banks selected in New York informing me that the Branch of the U. States Bank in that city, had also refused to receive from the deposite Banks the notes of the U. States Bank, payable at other places—; that out of \$55,000, received for duty bonds on the 1st. of October \$53,000, were in notes of other Branches of the U. States Bank—and that after much negotiation, the Branch at New York had agreed to let the matter remain suspended until they could consult the mother Bank, and promised to give a final answer on the Friday following if they could or at all events on Saturday. These official letters were communicated to the Senate in my report of Decr. 30, 1833 and having been printed with the other documents they need not be repeated here. I inferred from these letters that the refusal of the Branch was peremptory in the first instance and that it was induced to hesitate upon understanding from the Presidents of the deposite Banks in New York that they held transfer drafts on the Bank of the U. States for a million and a half of dollars which they were authorized to use if these notes were not received in the settlement of accounts with the Deposite Banks. It will be recollected that these drafts were given at the suggestion of Mr. Newbold on the 28th. of September, he being then in Washington;—And as I made no communication to the Bank of the U. States upon the subject, the existence of these drafts must have been unknown to the Branches at Baltimore and New York when they refused to receive the notes payable at other places. I have never inquired whether this inference I drew from these letters was correct or not—but I do not now doubt its correctness, after reading over again as I have just done the letter from Mr. Newbold. The drafts were not communicated to the Bank of the U. States by the Department—because the news-papers known to be under its direction were every day vaunting its power, & threatening destruction to the Deposite Banks—; and I wished to see what course it meant to pursue, and whether it would attempt to carry its threats into execution. It was important that I should understand as early as possible the measures it proposed to adopt upon the removal of the deposites—

I return to Mr. Ellicott. His letter and the letters from the New York Banks, satisfied me that the Bank of the U. States had determined to make war upon the State Banks, & to embarrass the selected Banks, by refusing to receive from them its own notes, except at the places where they were payable. It appeared remarkable that both the office at New York and the office at Baltimore should have requested until saturday to give their final answers, although either of them could have heard from Philadelphia on Wednesday or Thursday at farthest; Judging by the payments already made, a very large amount of U. States Bank notes payable at distant Branches would accumulate by saturday, & if the offices

refused to receive them in exchange, the Deposit Banks would perhaps on the settlement of the weekly accounts be heavily indebted to the Branch. They would therefore be utterly unable to render very efficient help to the State Banks if they should be pressed upon by the U. States Bank for the purpose of increasing the pressure which had already been exerted, and under which the commercial cities were already severely suffering. These circumstances, together with the tone of the newspapers belonging to the Bank, led me to apprehend that a simultaneous movement against the State Banks in the principal cities might be contemplated—and that on Saturday, the refusal to receive the notes in question would be finally given, & the balances every where exacted in specie.

I was satisfied that the transfer drafts before mentioned had made things safe in New-York, and that the office there would be instructed to receive the notes it had rejected. But the blow might be struck in another place, and I determined therefore to send transfer drafts, to Philadelphia and Baltimore similar to those given to New York, to be used if necessary as a means of defence.—It was too late to send one to Boston, because the letters which induced me to take this step were received on the 3rd. which was Thursday; and as we had no rail roads at that time a transfer draft could not have reached Boston in time for any operation by the Bank on Saturday—Besides there had been but little complaint of pressure there, & that place did not appear to have been one of the chosen points of attack. It was otherwise in Philadelphia and Baltimore where the outcry was already great. I therefore determined to arm the Deposit Banks in these two cities with the means of defence,—giving each of them transfer drafts for an amount that I supposed to be in just proportion to the sum I had provided in New-York & to be used in similar contingencies. I accordingly dispatched to the Girard Bank of Philadelphia on the same day that I received Mr. Ellicott's & Mr. Newbold's letters—that is on the 3rd. a draft on the Bank of the U. States for \$500,000. And also to the Union Bank a draft for \$100,000 on the office of the Bank of the U. States in Baltimore. I considered that \$500,000 to Philadelphia and \$300,000 to Baltimore would be in fair proportion to the million and a half which I had sent to New York; and I sent to Baltimore only \$100,000, because the Union Bank was near me; & if the movements on Saturday should make it necessary, the remaining \$200,000, could be placed in Baltimore before the opening of the Banks on Monday morning. The purposes for which they were sent, and the exigencies in which they might be used appear from my official letters inclosing them. I wrote no private letter on the subject, until after Mr. Ellicott had used the drafts.

On the same day that these drafts were signed and after the letters inclosing them had been placed in the Post office, Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived. They came in the evening stages and did not call on me until some time after candle light. I was surprized, but yet very glad to see them, for the business in which I had that day been engaged as before mentioned shews that I expected 'a demonstration' upon Baltimore by the Bank of the U. States, & was naturally anxious to know how matters

stood there. They handed me a letter from Mr. Ellicott, which has been lost or mislaid. It was a short one of a few lines, saying that a good deal of uneasiness was felt about the situation of money matters in Baltimore, and that these gentlemen had come to Washington, on that account & referring me to them for more particular information. I do not profess to give the words of the letter. It is now more than five years since I received it. It was read probably not more than once, & was not thought worth preserving. Yet its substance, & the substance of the conversation between Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine and myself is deeply and strongly impressed on my memory, from the unpleasant difficulties which immediately grew out of this interview and from the excitements & discussions between them & Mr. Ellicott which followed a few months afterwards.

When Mr. Perine & Mr. Johnson left Baltimore they were not aware that I apprehended a sudden attack by the Bank of the U. States on the State Banks, or that I had taken any measures for their protection. My letter inclosing the draft for \$100,000 to the Union Bank would not reach Baltimore until the morning of the day next following that on which they came to Washington; and presuming that they would not have come had they been acquainted with the measures already taken, I told them as soon as I read Mr. Ellicott's letter that I had anticipated them & proceeded to tell them what I had done & the reasons which induced me to do it. I have conversed with Mr. Perine recently on the subject of this interview & his recollection as well as my own is perfect, that this was the remark I made immediately on reading Mr. Ellicott's letter—and it shews that his letter by these gentlemen could have had no particular reference to the Bank of Maryland, but related to the condition of the Banks generally; as my remark otherwise would have been entirely out of place. For it is admitted that the draft alluded to was sent to enable the Union Bank to support the moneyed institutions in Baltimore generally, and not for any particular Bank. Mr. Johnson's professional engagements occupy him so constantly that I have not had an opportunity of asking him whether his recollection concurs with that of Mr. Perine and myself on this particular part of the conversation.

After hearing what I had done, & the grounds upon which I supposed an immediate attack was contemplated by the Bank of the U. States, they expressed much pleasure in learning that I had taken such a decided course, but said they feared the sum I had sent might not be sufficient—and went on to inform me that the Susquehanna Bridge & Bank Company was in difficulties—that there was a run upon it, and that it had been supported for the last two days by heavy advances on the part of the Union Bank and Bank of Maryland—that its notes of a small denomination formed a large portion of the circulation of the City, & were generally in the hands of the labouring classes;—and if it was suffered to stop in the present excited state of the public mind & the Bank of the U. States made its attack at the same moment, the consequences might be most disastrous; and might result in the general overthrow of the State Banks.

This was the first information I had of the difficulties of the Susquehanna Bridge & Bank Company and it added not a little to my anxiety, for I could not know the extent to which this Bank was involved nor whether it would be possible to save it, and yet its failure would evidently increase the danger of the State Banks; and give an important advantage to the U. States Bank if it made war upon them.

It is impossible at this distance of time, to state the order in which different remarks were made in this interview, after the object of the mission of these two gentlemen had been opened as above stated. Our conference lasted some hours, & both parties had many inquiries to make of each other. I was anxious to learn the condition of the Banks in Baltimore & to ascertain if any thing had taken place there that would assist me in forming a judgment of the course intended to be pursued by the Bank of the U. States—and enable me to estimate the extent of the danger to be apprehended from it. Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine were equally anxious to learn what had been the movements of the Bank in other cities and to understand what measures of defence the Department had determined on.

The embarrassments of the Susquehanna Bridge and Bank company was most unpleasant news to me. Mr. Poultney had been at the head of that company for some years, and left it to become the President of the Bank of Maryland, and I feared from his connection with both Banks, that the latter might be implicated in the difficulties of the former; and I was therefore particular in my inquiries upon that point; & also whether the failure of the Bridge & Bank Company from Mr. Poultneys recent connexion with it, would be likely to affect the credit of the Bank of Maryland, and shake the confidence of the public in it.

Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine both assured me that I need entertain no apprehension on that score; that the Bank of Maryland was not at all involved in the affairs of the Bridge & Bank company;—and was one of the safest Banks in Baltimore having been skilfully & prudently managed; that its present condition was easy and unembarrassed, & that it had made large advances to uphold the Bridge & Bank Company without any inconvenience to itself; that nothing could endanger it but a sudden act of hostility on the part of the U. States Bank; but as that Bank and all of its offices except the one in Baltimore received the notes of the Bank of Maryland,—it might accumulate a large amount, and by making an unexpected demand upon it for specie greatly embarrass if not destroy it; that the Bank of the U. States from its immense capital and numerous Branches had a great advantage over a Bank of Small capital like the Bank of Maryland; especially as the Branch in Baltimore refused to receive in exchange the notes of its own Bank unless payable at that office. That from the hostility so continually manifested by the Bank of the U. States to the Bank of Maryland, it was believed that its assault on the State Banks would be made at that point; and by making heavy demands on it for specie they might impair public confidence in it if they did not at once stop it; and in a moment of excitement, if the Bridge & Bank company

failed, they might direct a panic upon it, which would overthrow the best managed Bank, if immediate support was not given to it. They therefore deemed it of the utmost importance, that deposits should be made in Baltimore sufficient to quiet alarm, & to shew the Bank of the U. States that its attack would be unavailing. For the fall of the Bank of Maryland, would be followed by that of every other including the deposit Bank. They did not suppose that there was any probability of a direct attack upon any of the other Banks, because they were all in the hands of the friends of the Bank of the U. States, and it was supposed that it would desire to cast the odium of the first stoppage of payment, upon the Bank of Maryland from its known and open hostility to that Bank since Mr. Poultney had become its President, and they said that as I apprehended an attack would be made on saturday it would be adviseable to send to Baltimore without delay all the support I meant to give the State institutions; because if the demand was made on any of the state Banks for specie beyond its means it must rely mainly for support on the deposit Bank and that support in order to be effectual must be afforded on the instant, & there would be no time to send to Washington for additional transfer drafts. They suggested that if I would make the Bank of Maryland one of the Deposit Banks it would probably prevent an attack on it, because the U. States Bank would be sensible in that case that its efforts would be hopeless, and would therefore from a regard for its own interests desist from further hostility; and they mentioned a sum, larger than the one I sent by then which they supposed it would be desirable to place in Baltimore by transfer drafts—but I do not now recollect the precise amount mentioned. I think however that they wished me to place there a half million of dollars—that is—to place Baltimore in that respect on the same footing with Philadelphia.

On my part I mentioned to these gentlemen my reasons for supposing that the Bank of the U. States meditated an attack on the credit of the State Banks—and that some decided movement was prepared for the saturday following; and I apprised them of the measures I had taken to enable the deposit Banks to repel the attack and to defend the State institutions. I stated to them that if the conduct of the Bank of the U. States should render it necessary I was determined to remove the last dollar of the public money from its vaults without any further delay; & that I would not suffer it to overthrow the state Banks while the Department had the means of supporting them; that I believed that the drafts I had given to the Banks of New-York and Philadelphia were sufficient to secure the State institutions & that the U. S. Bank would abstain from hostile measures in those cities when they knew the amount of the transfer drafts, ready to be presented if it dealt oppressively with the State Banks; that from the crisis produced by the difficulties of the Susquehannah Bridge and Bank company, & the panic which might be got up, if it stopped payment, it was obvious that whatever aid I proposed to give to Baltimore, should be given without delay; and that the drafts ought to be in Baltimore ready to be used at a moments notice; that I should therefore forward

transfer drafts on the Bank of the U. States for two hundred thousand dollars more to the Union Bank, which would make the sum placed there \$300,000; and that I considered this sum as the fair proportion of Baltimore with reference to the sums furnished to New York & Philadelphia; that it was certainly enough for the present to meet any hostile step on the part of the Bank of the U. States, if the State Banks had been prudently managed; that the Deposit Banks were instructed to support every solvent State Bank as far as it could, against any assault upon it by the U. S. Bank—and if a panic should be directed upon the Bank of Maryland by reason of the embarrassments of the Bridge & Bank company; or if any other Bank should be the object of attack Mr. Ellicott was under his general instructions authorized to support it; that the knowledge that Mr. Ellicott had the means of supporting the State Banks would probably prevent an attack upon any of them;—that I did not desire to have more than one deposit Bank in Baltimore & could not therefore appoint the Bank of Maryland; and that its capital was moreover too small for a deposit Bank in a city like Baltimore; that the course of the Bank of the U. States, might be such as to induce me at some future time to give further drafts upon it in favor of the Deposit Banks; and that it would certainly become necessary to do so if the Bank refused to receive in exchange its own notes payable at distant Branches; but as it would see from the transfer drafts already given the consequences of this measure, & were as I know from their monthly reports to the Department in no condition to meet an immediate draft for the whole amount of the public money still in its hands I did not believe, that the refusal to receive the notes of distant Branches would be adhered to; that the amount of the transfer drafts above mentioned, were therefore all that I proposed to give; and if these drafts were used I should require security for the amount from the deposit Banks because such transfers were not contemplated in the agreements I had made with them, which were intended to provide merely for the accruing revenue; and that I should therefore require security from the Union Bank for the \$300,000, and for any further transfer Drafts I might hereafter give it, if such drafts should be made necessary by the conduct of the Bank of the U. States.

This is the substance of what passed between us—As I have before said, I cannot give the words, nor the order of the different remarks & suggestions,—but its material parts are firmly impressed on my memory and the statement here given will be found entirely consistent with the confidential correspondence between Mr. Ellicott & myself to which it gave rise.

In the whole of this interview I regarded Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine, as coming at the instance of Mr. Ellicott and as deriving their knowledge of the state of the Banks, and of the dangers to be apprehended altogether from him. I knew indeed that Mr. Johnson was a Director of the Bank of Maryland—but I also knew enough of the ordinary proceedings of Directors in Banks to be satisfied that a man incessantly engaged as he was in his profession, would have no other information of the condition of the Bank, than what he derived from the President and cashier, & that

he made his statements from his confidence in them and not from any personal examination by himself. I knew also that Mr. Johnson was the counsel for the Union Bank, & upon terms of close intimacy & confidence with Mr. Ellicott, and that Mr. Perine was a Director in the Union Bank & had gone into the Board at the request of Mr. Ellicott, & was also upon the most friendly and intimate terms with him; and I had not the slightest suspicion that either of these gentlemen had any interest in the Bank of Maryland, further than as I presumed a share or so by Mr. Johnson to make him eligible as a Director. Neither of them gave the slightest intimation that they had any personal interest in the Bank of Maryland, or in the success of their mission to Washington. The reasons assigned by them for advising that the sum they mentioned as above stated, should be withdrawn from the Bank of the U. States & deposited in Baltimore were altogether of a public nature. They urged it upon the ground that it was necessary in order to protect the moneyed institutions of the City from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States.—They represented them as being generally sound and prudently managed; and spoke confidently of the Bank of Maryland as one of the safest in the City; and they urged the necessity of an additional transfer of public money not on account of the unsound condition of the State Banks but to sustain them against the great and dangerous power of the Bank of the U. States; & the apprehensions in relation to the Bank of Maryland, were said to arise entirely from the peculiar hostility which the U. States Bank had manifested towards it & from its small capital which rendered it less able to defend itself against the unfriendly Bank & that it would probably on that account be made the immediate object of attack, in the efforts to excite a panic and to overwhelm the state Banks.

In truth with the exception of the embarrassed condition of the Susquehannah Bridge and Bank Company, which I first heard from these gentlemen, they told me nothing & suggested nothing that I had not before heard from Mr. Ellicott;—and as to the main object of their mission, it had not only been urged by Mr. Ellicott when the plan of removal was about to be formed,—but had been repeated again by him in the letter I received from him on the morning of the day on which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived; and I regarded these gentlemen as speaking in behalf of Mr. Ellicott & communicating his views; and supposed that they had come at his request, because the critical state of affairs in Baltimore made him unwilling to leave home. And I have at this moment no doubt, that these gentlemen honestly and frankly stated at the time what they believed to be true and that they had not the slightest suspicion of the Jeopardy in which the Bank of Maryland was then placed by the insane Speculations in which it had been engaged; and supposed that nothing could endanger it but the determined hostility and overgrown power of the Bank of the U. States. It was nothing extraordinary that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine should come on such an errand, for at that period I received visits almost every day, from gentlemen who came from different places, upon similar objects; and many of them I knew could



have had no other motive than a sincere desire to see the measure I had undertaken successfully carried out. When Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had been apprised by me of the amount for which the additional drafts were to be given, they appeared satisfied, and said they supposed it would be enough; and proposed that I should send the drafts by them as they meant to return to Baltimore in the evening stages of the next day (Friday Oct. 4). They suggested that it would be well that Mr. Ellicott should have the drafts on Friday night; for if (as I informed them I apprehended) some strong step should be taken by the Bank of the U. States on Saturday, Mr. Ellicott would be better prepared to meet it by knowing beforehand the exact Strength of the Union Bank; and that if I sent the drafts by mail he would not receive them until the next morning about the time the Bank opened; and they would moreover be liable to the accident of miscarriage which sometimes happened to the mail even between Washington & Baltimore. I admitted the propriety of this suggestion and two drafts were prepared for \$100,000 each one on the office in Baltimore & the other on the Mother Bank which I inclosed to Mr. Ellicott in an official letter and referred him for his instructions to the letter covering the transfer draft of \$100,000 which I had previously sent him.

Both of these letters were reported to congress and have been published. For the sake however of presenting a connected view of the subject I insert them here together with the letter to the Girard Bank Nos. 2. 3. 4. The letter which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine bore to Mr. Ellicott was not shewn to them. Because Mr. Ellicott's Bank being the fiscal agent, & bound to execute my instructions, & the drafts being entrusted to him I supposed it to be of no consequence whether these instructions were known or not to these gentlemen. They left Washington on Friday, in the evening line of stages for Baltimore—

I awaited with some anxiety the events of the next day. The failing condition of the Bridge and Bank company was a new and unexpected danger, & in the agitated state of the public mind & from the multitude of persons who were obviously striving to produce a panic & a run upon the Banks, it was difficult to foresee what consequences might grow out of it.

On Saturday shortly after the evening Stages came in (which I think was about sunset or a little before) McClintock Young my chief Clerk whom I had given leave to go to Baltimore to attend to some private business of his own, called on me to let me know that he had returned. I of course inquired of him the news in Baltimore. He told me that he saw Mr. Perine just before he left there, who informed him that the two drafts which I sent by Mr. Johnson & him had been indorsed to the Bank of Maryland—that the one upon the Branch at Baltimore had been collected late in the day on Saturday, & that the other was to go (or had gone on) to Philadelphia and would be collected on Monday. I was greatly Surprized at this intelligence and inquired of Mr. Young whether he knew any thing of the Bridge and Bank company & whether any public

excitement had been produced by its difficulties. He had heard nothing about it, & was satisfied that there could be no excitement in Town on that account or he must have known it. He said that he told Mr. Perine that he thought I would be dissatisfied with the use of the drafts & Mr. Perine thereupon expressed his regret that they had been used, and suggested to Mr. Young that he had better interfere & prevent the use of the one on the mother Bank, until I could be consulted—and that he had declined taking any part in the matter, as he had no orders from me.

I was much perplexed and astonished by this information. It seemed impossible that the Union Bank could be indebted to the Bank of Maryland in such an amount, and I feared that Mr. Ellicott in violation of my known wishes & his own instructions had availed himself of this opportunity to carry into effect the policy he had so often urged, of transferring the public funds from the Bank of U. States to the Deposit Banks. But even in this view of the Subject I could not comprehend why the drafts had been indorsed to the Bank of Maryland; and I was in my private office preparing to write to Mr. Ellicott to ask for explanations, when he himself walked in. He had come over in one of the evening Stages which belonged to a different line from that in which Mr. Young had travelled and come to my house shortly after candle light. *<In the conversation which ensued between us it can hardly be expected that I should undertake at this time to state positively the precise language of the Speakers, in every part of it or the exact order in which some of the remarks were made. Yet every one will feel that the material portions of such a conversation, held under such circumstances are not likely to be forgotten. And the substantial parts of it are distinctly on my memory & the correctness of the statement I am about to make will be found to be verified in the correspondence which immediately followed.>*

His visit was unexpected, but I rejoiced to see him, and instantly asked what was the news in Baltimore? I have even now before me the melancholy visage he put on when he answered in hollow tones "very bad, very bad" What is the matter I exclaimed? He replied that the Banks were in a bad condition, and could not sustain specie payments a week longer, unless they were aided by the Department. This was startling enough and the conversation soon became an excited one and on my part was not altogether free from reproaches. I said that this was most extraordinary; that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had only the day before informed me that the Banks were all in a healthy state; and that nothing was to be apprehended except from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States, & the panic they were endeavouring to produce; and I had hoped that the drafts already given, would have made every thing safe and even easy in Baltimore. He said it was not enough, it would require a great deal more to enable him to support them. I inquired what Banks were in difficulties? He said they were all run upon more or less, and were generally in a very unsafe condition; and very few if any of them could stand without aid from the Treasury; that the Union Bank although entirely sound, was not able with the means it already had to support the weaker Banks to

the extent required; and if one stopped, the panic would be so great that all would follow; & that even the Union Bank would probably go with the rest; as the U. States Bank would avail itself of the public alarm to crush it if possible. I reproached him for suffering Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine to come to me, under the impression that the State Banks were all in a good condition—& to mislead me in that respect, and asked him how he could justify the assurances he gave me, before the Deposites were removed when I had conjured him as my friend to tell me truly the situation of the State Banks; and I reminded him of the appeal I then made to him, & his answer to it. He said when he gave me these assurances he believed them to be true; & that when Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine came to Washington, he had not supposed things were so bad as he had found them to be;—that he had himself been deceived; and that he had found the U. States Bank, more powerful & dangerous than he supposed it was; and the Banks in Baltimore generally weaker and less firm than he had imagined. I then asked him, if this was the condition of the Banks how came he to give a single Bank—the Bank of Maryland—\$200,000, which was two thirds of what I had sent him, and leave only \$100,000 to be employed in aiding the other institutions. He replied that he was obliged to do it; that the Bank of Maryland had embarrassed itself by speculations in stock; that stocks were now depressed & it could not sell them without a heavy loss; But that the Bank was ultimately safe and as soon as it could sell its Stocks for a fair price it would be in a flourishing condition: that besides Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine had told him when they returned from Washington that I intended the two drafts they brought from the Department for the use of the Bank of Maryland. I expressed my utter astonishment at what he said, & told him he must have misunderstood Mr. Johnson & Perine;—that it was impossible they could have said so; that on the contrary they had represented the Bank of Maryland, as perfectly easy in its condition, as one of the safest and best managed Banks in Baltimore—that so far from suggesting that it needed aid they represented it as having advanced largely, in order to prevent the stoppage of the Bridge & Bank company; & had assured me that it had nothing to apprehend, except the hostility of the Bank of the U. States; and that so far it had been able to foil the hostile attempts of even that powerful Bank without any loss of money or credit, & without receiving aid from any other institution. To all this Mr. Ellicott replied in a tone and manner that had much meaning in it, that Mr. Johnson was a Director in the Bank of Maryland, and that he and Mr. Perine had both a very large interest in it. The manner of Mr. Ellicott intimated too plainly to be mistaken, that these gentlemen had deceived me—and had private interests to gratify in the representations they made to me. And when I stated in strong terms my disapprobation of his conduct in disregarding my official instructions in relation to the use of these drafts, he still recurred to what he insisted they had said to him, & endeavoured to excuse himself upon that ground. I then inquired why those drafts were indorsed to the Bank of Maryland, and presented for payment by that

Bank; and even if he supposed himself justified in aiding the Bank of Maryland to the amount of \$200,000 why was not a credit given to it at the Union Bank to that amount, which was the usual course, when one Bank aided another, and what reason was there for departing from it in this instance—and as according to his own admission he knew that the Bank of Maryland had been engaged in heavy stock Speculations and had become embarrassed by them, did he not perceive that this mode of proceeding was calculated to bring upon me the most unworthy suspicions & to do me serious injury as an officer; that it was well known that I had refused to appoint more than one Deposit Bank in Baltimore; that the Bank of Maryland had applied for the appointment and that I had refused it; that the Bank of Baltimore an institution of the highest character, had as he well knew been earnestly pressed upon me, and had been refused upon the ground that it was not desirable to have more than one Deposit Bank in Baltimore; and yet he had collected these drafts in an unusual manner and such as would naturally give rise to a suspicion that there was some covert and indirect connection, between the Treasury Department & the Bank of Maryland; and that while I did not dare to make it a deposit Bank in the face of the known public opinion of the city, which was in favor of the Bank of Baltimore, yet that I was in an indirect way giving it the use of the public money; and as it seemed from what he now told me, that this Bank had Speculated largely in stock, and was holding on to it in order to obtain a better price, the public would very probably believe that I was apprised of its condition and secretly interested in these stock speculations; & that I was betraying the confidence placed in me by the President, & using the public money for my own private emolument; and that much as I was dissatisfied with the collection of the drafts in opposition to my instructions, I considered the manner in which they were collected by indorsing them to the Bank of Maryland as still more reprehensible, in as much as it was calculated to bring in question my personal honor and to impair the public confidence in my integrity as an officer. In reply to this Mr. Ellicott said, that he had not thought of the subject in the point of view I had taken of it when he indorsed the drafts, & he was sorry that he had collected them in that manner; that the Bank of the U. States was continually attacking that little Bank, & he thought if the former supposed that the Bank of Maryland had a friend that was able & determined to support it, it would probably let it alone. He said it had not occurred to him at the time, that it could do me any injury; and that he certainly would not have done it, if he thought it might be used to implicate my character. This explanation, by Mr. Ellicott certainly did not mend the matter. It was an admission that he intended to hold me out as covertly connected with that Bank, & as giving it the use of the public money, when I had publicly refused to make it one of the Deposit Banks.

The interview lasted until late at night—and the foregoing statement contains the substance of our conversation although I do not pretend to give the words used, or the exact order in which the subjects were men-

tioned. The state of things in Baltimore as represented by Mr. Ellicott filled me with anxiety, and I at length said to him that the information he had given me was unexpected & had taken me by surprise—that I must reflect upon it before I could decide what was proper to be done; and asked him how much more money would in his opinion be necessary, to enable him to sustain the Baltimore Banks. He said at least \$500,000 in addition to what I had already given to the Union Bank.—I told him the sum was large for Baltimore, and would be \$300,000 more than I had sent to Philadelphia the very seat of the Banks power; He however insisted that nothing less than the sum he had mentioned would make matters safe, & if I did not transfer it without delay I must not blame him if I soon heard from Baltimore the most disastrous news. I told him I would reflect upon what he had said that night & requested him to call at 10 o'clock the next morning (Sunday) when I would give him an answer. We then parted for the night.

It required but little reflection to make up my mind to refuse Mr. Ellicott's application for half a million of dollars, in addition to what I had already given. Assuming what he stated to be true that the Banks in Baltimore were in a hazardous condition, & ready to fall under the pressure—or panic already produced, it was quite obvious that they were in no condition to go through the severe trials which were yet before them; and that the transfer of so much money from the Bank of the U. States, would only post-pone the evil day & make it infinitely more disastrous to the public when it came. For I was fully sensible that we were yet but in the beginning of the conflict, & that the Bank and its adherents would be able to make the pressure much more severe, and to make the panic more general and intense, than it had yet been. It would therefore have been unpardonable in me to withdraw a half million of dollars of public money from that Bank where it was unquestionably safe, & place it in institutions which were confessedly in imminent danger of suspending payment. It was true that according to Mr. Ellicott's view of the matter, this determination would produce the total overthrow of my fiscal plan & I should be driven from public life almost as soon as I had entered on it with disgrace & contempt. This to be sure was sufficiently trying. I felt that it would be abundantly mortifying to see the plan defeated by the Bank, even after an arduous & protracted struggle but that it would be infinitely more galling to find the machinery in which I had expressed so much confidence, & upon the strength of which I had hazarded such great interests, falling to pieces & proving to be utterly worthless even before it had fairly got into operation; and I was sensible that if the event did take place, I should be regarded throughout the U. States as a weak and ridiculous pretender, who had presumptuously and impertinently undertaken the management of great national concerns in the results of which millions of freemen were concerned & millions of property would be sacrificed. But whatever might be the effect upon myself personally the path of duty was a plain one. As a public officer I had no right to put to hazard the public money entrusted to my charge, upon any con-

siderations merely personal to myself. I had removed the deposits and given the transfer drafts in the confident belief that the money was as safe in the Union Bank as in the Bank of the U. States,—but the President of that Bank had now informed me that the other Banks in Baltimore were generally in danger of falling immediately unless propped up by the Treasury Department, and if I relied on his information I ought not to trust any more money to the Union Bank, because I could not hope that it had escaped altogether the general infection. Instead of placing more money in it, it was my duty to endeavour to secure what was already in its hands.

I did not however entirely rely on what Mr. Ellicott now told me. He had throughout this interview spoken in tones of great despondency, and appeared to be in a state of much uneasiness and alarm. His whole deportment was unlike his usual manner;—and as I knew that every means of intimidation was resorted to by the Bank of the U. States, & knew that Mr. Ellicott was personally unpopular in Baltimore, I feared that I might have overrated his firmness and that he had become alarmed by the threats of bankruptcy & ruin continually sounded in his ears, & intimations of the heavy responsibility that would rest upon him for the part he had acted, in advising the removal, & undertaking the agency. He appeared to me to be confused & indistinct in his language and to have lost his self possession; for I could in no other way account for his most unjustifiable attempt to hold me out to the public as indirectly furnishing public money to the Bank of Maryland to support its stock speculations; nor for the manner in which he spoke of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine & their statements to him and to myself. I feared that his courage had given way and that he felt the influence of the rising panic;—and that I had been unfortunate on that account in selecting his Bank as one of the fiscal agents. It was too late however to think of a change in that respect; but the suspicion that he was losing his coolness & self possession was certainly no reason for trusting him with more of the public money, than was absolutely unavoidable.

Accordingly when he called on Sunday morning at the appointed hour, I told him that I had reflected on what he had said and had made up my mind; that upon the statement he had made to me of the condition of things in Baltimore I had committed a great error in changing the Depository of the public money; and had already placed more of it in jeopardy than I ought to have done; that I should therefore not only decline making any further transfer to the Union Bank, but must endeavour to save what I had already put to hazard; that he must immediately return to me the transfer draft for \$100,000 which his Bank still held, and that on his return to Baltimore he must require the Bank of Maryland to sell its Stocks at any sacrifice & replace in the Union Bank the \$200,000 that he had improperly given to it; and that the Union Bank must hold it when received ready to meet a draft from the Department; that I had given these transfer drafts under the impression that the State Banks in Baltimore were in a healthy condition, & to enable him to meet the hostility of the

Bank of the U. States; but according to his statement the State Banks were not worthy of trust and it would be a flagrant breach of my official duty after receiving such information, to suffer the public money to remain at hazard; that I hoped his view of the monetary affairs in Baltimore was more alarming than the reality, & that he had possibly unconsciously to himself felt the influence of the panic around him; yet as I could not from any knowledge of my own say positively that he was mistaken, I must to a certain extent act upon the information he had given & not suffer public money to be withdrawn from a safe Depository and placed in one he himself represented as insecure; and that although I was fully sensible of the disgrace and ridicule which would follow the sudden failure of my schemes of finance, yet considerations merely personal ought not to influence my conduct, & that I should not be justified in hazarding the public money in order to postpone the evil day; nor upon the bare possibility of escaping the danger.

Mr. Ellicott appeared to be perfectly astounded by this reply to his application. He had manifestly hoped for a different one; and after a moments pause, he proceeded with much appearance of excitement to complain that this decision was in violation of the assurances I had given him before deposits were removed; that he never would have engaged in the business if he had not believed, that he would be supported by the Department; that he had done right in the aid he had given to the Bank of Maryland under my general instructions to support solvent State institutions; and again insisted that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine on their return from Washington had told him that the \$200,000 which they brought with them were intended for that Bank; and that he did not see what the Bank of Maryland had done to exclude it from support, nor why he was to be blamed for giving it the aid that would have been given to any other institution which the Bank of the U. States was endeavouring to crush.

I of course answered what he said, and a conversation ensued of some warmth on both sides, in which all of the topics of the evening before were again discussed, & commented on; and in which I again in strong terms expressed my disapprobation of his conduct, & reiterated my determination to make no further transfers to the Union Bank and to insist on the return of what had already been given. After some time, Mr. Ellicott finding that he had no chance of procuring more money, gradually changed his manner, and became more friendly and soothing in his tone, and expressed a hope that matters might not turn out to be so bad as he had feared & that perhaps they might get through without any further support from the Treasury; but he begged very hard to be allowed to retain the transfer Draft for \$100,000 which he still held. He said that he had no doubt that the Bank of the U. States knew every thing that was done at the Treasury, and while he held this draft, it might in some degree keep them in check; but if he was compelled to return it, the Bank would regard it as proof of my loss of confidence in him, & of my determination to give the State Banks in Baltimore no support against their attacks, & would encourage them to proceed in their hostile designs; that the return

of the draft would necessarily be known to the officers of the Department; & would thereby be made public, & the recall of this draft so soon after it was given, and while the severity of the pressure still continued, would impair the credit of the Union Bank & might do it serious injury, especially as I did not at that time propose to recall the transfer drafts which had been sent to New York & Philadelphia. After some discussion between us there seemed to be great force in his remarks on this head, and I finally agreed that he might retain the draft, but with the express understanding that it was not to be used without first consulting me & receiving my permission unless the emergency should be so sudden as to make it necessary to use it in order to save a solvent Bank. With this understanding we parted, he carrying with him however my injunctions to compel the Bank of Maryland to restore the amount it had received with as little delay as possible. He left me in time to go in the evening stage of that day; and I observed with Surprise, that before he took leave, his manner and conversation had become tranquil and cheerful and that the gloomy aspect he wore at our first meeting had entirely disappeared. And yet he had totally failed in the object of his journey, which was to obtain an additional transfer of a half million of dollars; and had to struggle hard to retain what had been already given. It struck me as odd and awakened some unpleasant suspicions.

Amos Kendall now Post-Master General was present at this conversation. He had been employed by the Department before I came into it to enquire into the condition of the state Banks in the principal atlantic cities & to ascertain whether they would be safe and convenient depositories of the public money, & upon what terms they would undertake it. He had I knew taken much pains to inform himself upon this subject, and I sent for him on Sunday morning, in order that he might hear what Mr. Ellicott had to say, & see how far it corresponded with the information he had obtained when he made his inquiries in Baltimore. And when Mr. Ellicott left us he told me he feared he was not dealing frankly with me; and if he had been in my place he would not have suffered him to retain the draft remaining in his hands & would have compelled him to return it forthwith. I admitted that Mr. Ellicott's conduct had created painful doubts in my own mind—that I yet hoped it was the effect of over anxiety, in the new position in which he was placed and that his errors had perhaps arisen from confining his view too much to Baltimore interests, and not looking beyond them; that from long and close intimacy with him, I felt most unwilling to doubt the integrity of his motives, or his fidelity to the public;—but that there was certainly enough to create unpleasant feelings and that I should thereafter be watchful and cautious where he was concerned.

These communications with Mr. Ellicott however created too much anxiety to allow them to be immediately dropped from my mind; and the more I thought of them the more I was dissatisfied. Was it possible that Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine knew that the Bank of Maryland was embarrassed by its speculations when they represented it as firm and a[s]



flourishing and as having advanced largely to support the Bridge and Bank company? and when they urged a further transfer of public money to Baltimore, upon public grounds in order to support the state institutions against the hostile designs of the Bank of the U. States, were they deliberately deceiving me & intending to obtain the money, in order to have it applied for their own private emolument and to carry out speculations by the Bank of Maryland in which they had a deep personal interest? and had they misrepresented my conversations to Mr. Ellicott so as to mislead him? I could not believe that either of these gentlemen could be guilty of such conduct. On the other hand Mr. Ellicott in one breath justified the use of the drafts on the ground that he was authorized to do so, by my official instructions; and insisted that the contingency had in fact arisen upon which it was his duty to use them; but in the next moment he declared he would not have used them if it had not been for the verbal statements of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine who told [him] they were intended for the Bank of Maryland. These two grounds of justification taken by Mr. Ellicott were inconsistent with one another, and the last was decidedly offensive as it implied that I had contradicted my public and official orders, by a private communication sent on the same day. Again it was hardly possible that the Banks of Baltimore could be in the condition he now represented them unless he had been insincere in his assurances of their firm and healthy State so solemnly made to me about a fortnight before. Nothing had happen[ed] in the mean time that could so greatly have changed the face of affairs;—and his opportunities when he made the first statement were quite as great, as they were now. Besides the manner in which he had collected the drafts, by indorsing them to the Bank of Maryland was—highly objectionable, & the motive he had assigned for it was still worse—and for this he did not pretend that he had relied on any representation or suggestion from Mr. Johnson or Mr. Perine but admitted it to be altogether his own act. No excuse could be found for this contrivance to fix on me the suspicion of a covert connexion with the Bank of Maryland, in any supposed alarm or confusion of mind on the part [of] Mr. Ellicott. The proceeding & the object of it had all the marks of cool and deliberate design; and I feared that Mr. Ellicott had brought with him into his fiscal agency his mercantile notions of morality, which holds it lawful to make money out of the public by crooked ways and ingenious contrivances. Reflecting carefully on all that had passed I did not believe, that the state Banks in Baltimore were generally unsound and ready to fall; I did not believe that the Bank of Maryland was embarrassed or in any danger; and I strongly suspected that Mr. Ellicott was himself in some way deeply concerned in the operations of that Bank, & that he was seeking to obtain all the money he could in order to carry through profitably some speculations in which it was engaged or had in view; and I thought it very likely that pursuing eagerly this object, in the true spirit of trade he had not even thought of the deep injury he might inflict on the character of one for whom he professed the warmest friendship.

Under these impressions—I felt that if the appointment of a Bank in Baltimore was still open, the Union Bank would be an improper selection. But it had been publicly announced, as a Deposit Bank and had entered on the duties of its agency; and to dismiss it at that time of excitement would unquestionably have not only destroyed public confidence in that Bank, but in the whole scheme, & would probably have produced a general suspension of specie payments. I doubted whether I ought to write to Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, and inform them of what Mr. Ellicott had said of them, & require an explanation. But this would necessarily have produced some collision and ill-blood between them out of which a controversy might grow and produce mischief both to the Union Bank & the Bank of Maryland. Upon the whole it seemed most adviseable to let Mr. Ellicott feel that any future departure from his official instructions would not be tolerated; that I would not suffer him to defend himself under pretence of private communications at variance with his public instructions; and that in the duty of his agency the public interests must not be hazarded for private emolument. I had hopes by this means of awakening him to a sense of the duties which his public station imposed upon him, and if I failed to do so, I should yet be able to prevent mischief by carefully watching over his conduct. After much reflection on the then posture of affairs this seemed to be the wisest course; and hence began the correspondence which Mr. Ellicott has so grossly endeavoured to falsify.

Accordingly on Monday the 7th. I addressed him the following official letter requiring an explanation of his conduct in using the two drafts sent by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Perine. (here insert it. No. 5) Apprehending that he might according to his notions of things as displayed in his recent conduct suppose that this official letter was intended merely for my public justification, I determined to shew him that I was in earnest, and therefore on the same day wrote him a private letter, expressing very clearly my opinions in relation [to] his conduct. I kept no copy of this letter—but I believe it is truly given in Mr. Ellicott's pamphlet (page 71) (here insert it) No. 6. Mr. Ellicott's letter of the 8th. is his answer to this private letter, and according to the usual course of the mail at that time was received by me on the morning of the 9th. It is in substance correctly given in his pamphlet, but as I have the original it is proper to insert it in his own words.—He also wrote me a few lines on the same day at a later hour. (here insert Nos. 7. 8.)

In the publication of Mr. Ellicott he represents my letter of the 11th. as the answer to his first letter of the 8th. & thereby makes me say that I had read that letter with pleasure. I read it with nothing like pleasure but on the contrary with strong feelings of dissatisfaction, as Mr. Ellicott well knows, and as my reply to it will shew. My objections were these. In the first place he insists that the use of the drafts were [sic] justified by the spirit of my official instructions; and so far his private letter is consistent with his official justification. But he again as he had before done in conversation, justifies himself upon the representations of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, & says that but for these representations he would

not have advised this use of the drafts. This portion of his defence as I have already said was inconsistent with the other, because if the contingency had substantially arisen under which he was authorized to use the drafts, it was his duty to have collected them independently of any representations made by Mr. Johnson or Mr. Perine. Moreover this excuse formed no part of his public official justification; & it was highly objectionable because I had already expressed to him in conversation my strong dissatisfaction with any attempt on his part to justify his conduct upon private verbal communications varying in any degree from my official instructions;—such a defence being personally offensive, in as much as it implied that my official Letters were merely illusory and intended to deceive the public. I could not well account for the repetition of this defense in writing after the decided reprobation I had just given to it in conversation; and it seemed to me that he either was not sensible of the nature of his & my obligations to the public, and supposed that our official correspondence was to be mere form while my real wishes were to be communicated in some crooked and disingenuous manner; or he desired by putting that principle in a private letter to have it in his power to fasten the imputation upon me, & excuse himself for any thing he might do under pretence of some private message or round about communication. I did not then suppose that he was capable of the last mentioned design; but his conduct and communications were altogether unsatisfactory, and there was a good deal of flourish too in the letter, about taking the responsibility of what had been done as if he supposed I did not in truth disapprove of it, but merely wished to escape the responsibility of having authorized it. I determined therefore to make Mr. Ellicott understand how seriously I disapproved of his conduct; and I kept a copy of that letter, because I thought I saw enough to put me on my guard, if not to destroy my confidence in him. In answer therefore to his letter of the 8th. which [I] received on the morning of the 9th. I wrote to him on the 10th. a letter of which the following is a copy. (here insert it) No. 9. This letter it will be seen from its context was written under some excitement, and things are said in it that I am sensible must mortify Mr. Ellicott. It so happened that on the day I wrote to him, he also wrote to me two letters before he received mine. His letters of the 10th. are in the following words. (Here insert them.)—No. 10. 11. These letters must have been received on the morning of the 11th., and every one will see that my letter of the 11th. is the answer to these two, and not to the letters of the 8th. My letter of the 11th. is given in Mr. Ellicott's pamphlet in the following words. here insert it—No. 12 (page 75) I have no reason to suppose that the language of my letter so far as it goes is not correctly given in the Pamphlet. I presume it is. But my impression is that the conclusion of that letter contained a reference to my letter of the 10th. and a repetition of the injunction there given to regard my official instructions as his only rule of action. If I am right in my recollection, the motive of Mr. Ellicott in mutilating this letter is sufficiently obvious. If it contains the paragraph which I think it does, Mr. Ellicott could not publish it

without betraying the fraud he was committing in suppressing my letter of the 10th. and representing this letter as the answer to his of the 8th. The existence of this paragraph is however of no importance except only as it would shew the extent to which Mr. Ellicott is prepared to go to accomplish his purposes. The letter as far as given I believe to be genuine. And when it is read in its proper order in the correspondence, as an answer to his letters of the 10th. it will be seen that there is nothing in it inconsistent with any thing else that I have written or said.

It is proper to call the attention of the Reader to a few passages in this letter, as compared with the letters which precede it.

1. It will be observed that the tone of this letter is far more conciliatory & kind than my preceding letter of the 10th. The reason is plain enough. His letter of the 10th. informs me that the money he had improperly given to the Bank of Maryland was about to be restored to the union Bank according to my injunctions in the interview at Washington, which were repeated in my letter of the 7th. I therefore began my reply by saying I had 'read his letter with pleasure'

2. After answering some questions which he very earnestly puts to me in his letter of the 10th. I proceed to explain some passages in my former letter. The object of that paragraph is manifestly to temper those expressions in the former letter which might be thought harsh & to put an end to any unpleasant feeling that might have arisen from them.

3. The next paragraph is occasioned by that sentence in his letter in which he says, that he will not use the remaining draft of \$100,000 except in the last extremity—'*and not then unless Thee gives me more latitude of discretion in its use than I now feel myself to possess.*' In my letter of the day before I had said to him that no Bank should be a Deposit Bank, which was engaged in stock Speculations, or which supported a Bank which was thus employed—And after reading the part of his letter above mentioned, I was afraid that under my verbal injunctions before mentioned, followed by the menacing character of my letter of the 10th. he would be afraid to use the money in his hands to support a solvent Bank actually run upon and assailed at the same time by the Bank of the United States, if it had been engaged in any stock transactions; and that with the means in his hands to avert the evil, he might yet suffer some solvent Bank to stop; It was necessary therefore to modify what I had said, & it is done in the paragraph of my letter of which I am speaking. It is to be observed that this modification related to the draft which he still held which had been sent to him before Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine arrived in Washington, and he does not pretend that these gentlemen gave him any reason to suppose that this draft was designed for the Bank of Maryland. This enlargement of his discretion therefore was evidently not intended for the benefit of that Bank,—especially as his letter gave me to understand that this Bank did not need it, but was in a condition to restore in a short time what had already been given to it.

In the same paragraph I again apprise him that the Bank of Maryland

& no other Bank must be allowed to hold on to the public money in order to sustain itself in speculations in stocks.

4. It will be observed further that Mr. Ellicott suppresses his second letter of Oct. 8th. The publication of that letter would have shewn that mine of the 11th. could not be an answer to his letters of the 8th. For in the concluding paragraph I express my pleasure that the Bridge & Bank Company were through its difficulties, when his 2d. letter of the 8th. told me that it was then in [?] peril. *<I have since been very much inclined to think that all of the difficulties of that miserable little Bank were got up & magnified by Mr. Ellicott in order to induce me to advance money to the Union Bank, to support commercial credit while he secretly intended to use it for his own selfish purposes.>*

Mr. Ellicott would I have no doubt be quite ready to say that he never received from me a letter of the 10th. Fortunately I have proof under his own hand that he received it, and according to his own account it 'gave him the blues.' His letter of the 12th. acknowledges the receipt of my letters of the 10th. & 11th. and it will be remarked that in this letter he does not pretend that he was influenced by the Statements of Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine in his advances to the Bank of Maryland, but places it entirely on the same ground that he had put it [on] in his official justification. The following is his letter of the 12th.—(here insert it) No. 13. My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott upon the subject of these drafts closed here.—I have no recollection of any other private letters written to him except in relation to the ordinary business of the Treasury until after the failure of the Bank of Md.

The one concerning the application of Mr. Whitney<sup>17</sup> for the appointment of agent already [has] been published with the report of the committee of the House of representatives who were appointed to investigate that subject. There were undoubtedly others but they must have related to some of the ordinary business of his agency, or to occurrences in Congress. I have no copies of them. Mr. Ellicott never came to Washington to give the explanation he promised in this letter, and I never heard from him any thing more upon the subject. He was in Washington some time afterwards, & wished to converse with me on the subject of the currency; but finding me too busy to see him, he wrote to me a letter stating his notions on that question & suggesting the plan he wished to see adopted by the Treasury Department. But nothing more ever took place between us, either in conversation or in writing in relation to these drafts after his letter of the 12th. of October. I have many of his letters giving me reports of the monetary concerns in Baltimore & elsewhere from time to time, & remarking upon the course of events in Congress; and the tone of his letters continued as friendly & confidential as ever until the Bank of Maryland stopped payment. New difficulties then arose

<sup>17</sup> Reuben M. Whitney was a former director of the Bank of the United States who became one of its bitter enemies. The agency which Taney here depicts him as seeking was that of coordinator of the pet banks (See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 244).

between us which ended in a total loss of confidence in him on my part & produced consequently a final separation. I proceed to state them. It will be observed however that they have no relation to these transfer drafts, nor to the differences of which I have been speaking.

[The manuscript ends at this point. Either Taney did not go on, or the remainder has been lost. From the pattern of fading on the last sheet, it is apparent that this was all that had been included under the old label with a notation on it in Taney's hand.]

## RECRUITMENT OF UNION TROOPS IN MARYLAND, 1861-1865

By CHARLES B. CLARK

THE sharp division of sentiment in Maryland during the Civil War made the recruitment of Union troops an uncertain and difficult process. Many otherwise loyal Unionists refused to volunteer, citing as their reason the Union's coercive measures. Southern sympathizers, of course, gave no more support than compelled to give. Theirs is another story.

Maryland furnished 46,638 men in response to the various Federal calls.<sup>1</sup> This was nearly 25,000 short of the 70,965 total quotas set for the State by the War Department.<sup>2</sup> In only one year—1864—did Maryland meet her quotas. Altogether, the State contributed thirty-five military organizations, consisting of cavalry, light and heavy artillery, and infantry units.<sup>3</sup> Total losses were not great, numbering 2,982 of whom 1,160 died of diseases. Only 909 men were killed or mortally wounded.<sup>4</sup>

The State was particularly lax and deficient in filling her early quotas. President Lincoln's first call for troops on April 15, 1861, set Maryland's quota at 3,123. Not a single soldier was recruited under this call. Before Governor Hicks finally set the wheels in motion to meet the quota, Lincoln had issued his second call on May 3 for 500,000 men for three years. Ultimately, Maryland

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 72-74, 1264, 1269; Series 3, V, 730-745; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, p. 39. See Appendix A for a tabulation of the various calls and drafts and Maryland's response. Appendix B gives an additional breakdown on the same. Appendix C shows draft exemptions in Maryland and Appendix D shows bounties paid.

In comparison, Delaware raised 12,284 men; Kentucky, 75,760; Missouri, 109,111; West Virginia, 32,068. Maryland contributed more men than New Hampshire (33,937); Vermont (33,288), and most western states.

Maryland furnished 8,718 colored troops, exceeded only by Kentucky's 23,703, and not considering the 99,337 colored troops raised in southern states. Maryland also gave 3,925 sailors and Marines. Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 1269, hereafter cited as OR.

<sup>3</sup> Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 25, 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Of the remainder, 647 died as prisoners of war, 98 from accidents, and 168 from other non-battle causes.

raised 9,355 men of the 15,578 requested of her by this call.<sup>6</sup> In Baltimore there was great resistance to joining up. A Southern-sympathizing newspaper of the city described it as an "up-hill business." Every deception, said the *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, was practised to induce the citizenry to enlist and this in turn led to the desertion of roughly one-half of the enlistees. "This is a plain statement of facts and certainly indicates, to some extent, the war spirit in Maryland."<sup>6</sup>

The Federal Government was hesitant to furnish arms to locally raised troops unless they were of known loyalty. Many men would enlist only for local service. In October, 1861, J. Crawford Neilson of Harford County offered 5,000 cavalymen to Major General John A. Dix, in command of the Department of Pennsylvania with headquarters in Baltimore. Neilson proposed that the Federal Government equip these troops. Dix, however, replied that the Government preferred these men be enlisted in the regular service rather than formed into local companies. There was no assurance, he said, that Neilson and his men would not take Federal arms and join the Confederacy.<sup>7</sup>

Officers of the Maryland militia and leading loyal citizens, however, usually met with greater receptiveness. They petitioned the Secretary of War for the right to organize regiments of loyal citizens. Normally they first approached the Maryland Governor, Thomas Holliday Hicks and later Augustus W. Bradford, for backing. In this manner, Francis Thomas, a Maryland Representative in Congress, organized four regiments of infantry to protect the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the residences and property along the Potomac River in the western counties. Thomas later offered four cavalry companies to be attached to the infantry regiments. A leading problem growing out of this method of raising military forces concerned the method of officer selection. In the beginning, soldiers organized in the manner described were allowed to elect their company officers but President Lincoln appointed their officers of field grade and above.<sup>8</sup> Federal authorities set strict requirements for company officers and those

<sup>6</sup> OR, Series 3, IV, 1264.

<sup>7</sup> *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 20, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> Dix to Neilson, October 29, 1861. OR, Series 1, V, 632-633.

<sup>9</sup> Secretary of War Cameron to Francis Thomas, July 19, 1861. OR, Series 3, I, 338-339. See letter of D. C. H. Emory to Governor Bradford, November 28, 1861, on behalf of Dr. Henry Howe Goldsborough of Queen Anne's County who desired a military appointment. Bradford MSS.



not measuring up were quickly deprived of their commissions.<sup>9</sup> In 1862 another Maryland Representative in Congress, Edwin H. Webster, was commissioned by Governor Bradford to organize the Seventh Maryland Regiment.<sup>10</sup> There developed considerable confusion over the appointment of regimental and company officers for volunteers raised in the State. Governor Bradford sought the advice of the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, who decided to allow Bradford to appoint such officers with the aid of the Adjutant General. He was also given the right to remove officers appointed by the War Department who proved incompetent. General Dix was directed to create a military board in Baltimore to decide upon the competency of officers if their qualifications were contested.<sup>11</sup>

Correspondence between the War Department and Maryland officials was heavy throughout the conflict. Steady requests poured into the State for additional troops. At no time did there seem to be agreement on the number of men from the State in the Federal service. The War Department requested lists of all men used as home guards, as well as for rosters of all men not mustered. Such data was essential in the planning of pay and supplies. Many communications from Maryland contained applications for commissions as officers.<sup>12</sup> The existence of both State-inspired and Federal-directed recruitment caused constant confusion and uncertainty. For example, Governor Bradford issued a proclamation on May 28, 1862, after consultation with Federal authorities, by which he sought volunteers to fill two regiments that were to be accepted by the War Department. Colonel William Louis Schley of the Fifth Maryland Volunteers was detached from his command to superintend the enlistment of these volunteers.<sup>13</sup> It is not known how many troops were enlisted as a result of this proclamation, but the response was not adequate. On June 18 the War Department notified Governor Bradford that additional troops were needed at once.<sup>14</sup> Ten days later Lincoln

<sup>9</sup> James Lesley, Jr., Chief Clerk of the War Department, to Francis Thomas, July 26, 1861. *OR*, Series 3, I, 353.

<sup>10</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, August 15, 1862.

<sup>11</sup> *OR*, Series 3, I, 930-931, 951-952; Executive Letter Book (Maryland) 1862, pp. 263-265.

<sup>12</sup> For typical examples of such correspondence, see *OR*, Series 3, II, 16, 114; *Ibid.*, I, 930-931, 777, 799.

<sup>13</sup> For Bradford's proclamation see Bradford Diary, May 28, 1862, and *Baltimore American*, June 3, 1862.

<sup>14</sup> L. Thomas, Adjutant General, to Bradford, *OR*, Series 3, II, 163.

received a letter signed by Bradford and the governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Michigan, and the heads of the military boards and the governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois, and Wisconsin, which urged him to follow up the recent successes of the Federal Army at New Orleans, Norfolk, and Corinth, and to end the rebellion at once. They were confident sufficient troops could be raised for the purpose if the President gave permission.<sup>15</sup> Lincoln thanked them for their patriotism, and, following consultation with Secretaries Seward and Stanton issued a call on July 2, 1862, for 300,000 men, chiefly infantrymen.<sup>16</sup>

Maryland's quota for this new call was 8,532 and Bradford appealed to his fellow Marylanders to meet it.<sup>17</sup> One-third of the troops were to come from Baltimore City. To assist him, Bradford on July 17 named a committee of fifty Baltimore citizens, with John Pendleton Kennedy as chairman. Four days later the committee met and asked the assistance of the Baltimore City Council. Mayor John Lee Chapman called the Council into extra session on July 22 and the upper branch quickly and unanimously appropriated \$300,000 for bounties to State volunteers. Two days later, however, the lower branch rejected this proposal and an angry crowd gathered, denouncing and threatening Council members who had refused to vote for the measure. At adjournment, cries of "Hang the traitors!" and "Put them out!" greeted Council members as they prepared to leave. It was necessary for policemen to escort each member home amidst "yells and groans." In an official report to Secretary Seward, the acting commander of the Middle Department stated that only the assurance the Government would take the matter in hand saved one member of the Council from being hanged. A large crowd followed this member, John W. Wilson, with a rope and it was as much as 100 policemen could do to save him.<sup>18</sup>

The action of the lower branch of the Council enraged several Union leaders, including Colonel William L. Schley of the Fifth

<sup>15</sup> Bradford, *et al.* to Lincoln, June 28, 1862, *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 180.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-188.

<sup>17</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 4, 1862; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, V, Diary, pp. 36-37.

<sup>18</sup> William D. Whipple, in command of the Middle Department while General Wool was away at Wheeling, West Virginia, to Secretary of State William H. Seward. J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 627.

Maryland Volunteers; Thomas H. Gardner, Clerk of the Baltimore Criminal Court; and Alfred A. Evans, Warden of the Maryland Penitentiary. They urged Major General John E. Wool, commanding the Middle Department, to arrest members of the Council who had voted against the bounty measure and to replace them with new members. General Wool was opposed to such coercive measures but offered to do what he could without resorting to force or dictation. He consulted members who had voted against the bounty and subsequently nine of them resigned their Council seats.<sup>19</sup> New members were chosen and on September 5 the Council authorized the \$300,000 appropriation for bounties. A bounty of \$100 was granted to every non-commissioned officer, private, bugler, fifer, and drummer accepted into the several regiments.<sup>20</sup> On August 7 the same body voted \$30,000 and also passed requiring all city officials, school teachers, for uniforming and equipping Maryland volunteers. An ordinance and city employees to take the oath of allegiance.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, an enrollment was underway of all citizens of the State subject to military duty. But enlistments lagged as in the Union generally and the War Department goaded Governor Bradford to fill the State's quota.<sup>22</sup> In desperation, Bradford considered a State draft, and many of his advisers urged that the legislature be called to authorize it. On July 28 a meeting was called in Baltimore by a joint committee of the Union League and the Union City Convention to take steps in that direction. The Governor was named chairman. He explained his action in appointing the aforementioned committee which petitioned the Baltimore City Council for bounty aid, and said he had not called the legislature because there was a "redundancy of patriotism and statesmanship there," and because he feared its members would stir up sectional questions. He had no legal right, he said, to draft men except for three months' service in the State Militia. Conse-

<sup>19</sup> These nine were: President Charles J. Baker, Decatur H. Miller, William Dean, Jesse Marden, Asa Higgins, William Swindell, Joseph Robb, Francis W. Alricks, and John W. Wilson, *Ibid.*; J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 491-492.

<sup>20</sup> *Baltimore American*, September 6, 1862. The upper branch of the Council had passed this ordinance on August 4, but had provided for \$350,000 to be paid in bounties, \$50 at the time of acceptance into service and \$10 in each of the succeeding five months. *Baltimore Republican*, August 5, 1862.

<sup>21</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 481-492.

<sup>22</sup> C. P. Buckingham, Assistant Adjutant General, to Bradford, July 7, 1862. *OR*, Series 3, II, 208.

quently, it appeared to Bradford and his advisors that Maryland would have to suffer the humiliation of a Federal draft.<sup>23</sup>

President Lincoln appealed again without success to the states on August 1 to meet their quotas.<sup>24</sup> He therefore, in accordance with authority granted him by Congress, ordered a draft of 300,000 men for nine months' service, to be filled by August 15. Maryland's quota was again set at 8,532, to be exclusive of any deficit in the original call for 300,000 volunteers.<sup>25</sup> Under both the call and the draft the State's quota was 17,064 men, a figure it fell far short of as only 3,586 men were recruited and most of them by the draft.<sup>26</sup> Allegany, Kent, and Washington counties had furnished volunteers in excess of their quotas under Lincoln's July 2 call. Kent County was an exception for the Eastern Shore, however, since most Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties had many men volunteering for Confederate Service. These counties were heavily hit, therefore, by the Federal draft. But the Civil War draft, unlike that of World War I or World War II, subsequently permitted drafted men to engage substitutes who secured prices ranging from \$300 to \$700 each in Maryland. Also, "bounty jumping" became a new and extensive scandal in the conduct of the war. Through connivance with corrupt officials, bounty jumpers resold their services with little trouble.<sup>27</sup> Drafting was therefore slow and uncertain in Maryland. Governor Bradford received frequent directions on the details of enrollment and steady orders to hasten the enrollment of all able-bodied men of 18-45.<sup>28</sup> The War Department established a military camp for training recruits near Annapolis under the supervision of General Wool.<sup>29</sup>

Countless persons were arrested in Baltimore for attempting to dodge the draft. The usual procedure was to attempt to escape from the City. About 200 Irish inhabitants departed for Philadelphia on August 7, 1862, but since Philadelphia officials were forewarned, the dodgers were roughly received. Many would pay two or three times the regular fare to Europe. Some

<sup>23</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 29, 1862; *Baltimore Republican*, July 26, 29, 1862.

<sup>24</sup> *OR*, Series 3, II, 289.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1265.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; *Baltimore American*, August 13, 1862.

<sup>27</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 871.

<sup>28</sup> *OR*, Series 3, II, 317-318.

<sup>29</sup> Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, V, Document No. 57, p. 170.

left for Canada.<sup>30</sup> The situation became so bad that on August 9 Secretary of War Stanton restricted travel, forbidding residents to leave the counties in which they lived. This placed a special hardship upon those in counties bordering on Baltimore who sold their produce or were employed there. Finally, General Wool agreed to permit non-resident males over 45 years of age, all females, and those who could prove they were merely visiting, to move freely to and from the City. Guards were placed at railroad depots, docks, and turnpikes to keep a check on such movements.<sup>31</sup> The city clerk in charge of recruitment was given every possible excuse by those seeking exemption from military service, such as: bad feet, poor eyes, deafness, voting for or not voting for Lincoln, and others. Over three hundred men joined the fire department within a week to escape the draft.<sup>32</sup>

Governor Bradford was eager to fill the State's quota but received poor response time and again from his fellow Marylanders. Efficient himself, he had difficulty obtaining able assistants. Also, many people of the State continued to oppose coercion of the South and paid little attention to his patriotic appeals. Others were not loyal enough to volunteer. On August 12, Bradford issued another of his many proclamations informing the citizens of the State what was expected of them and how they should proceed in the matter of the draft. Colonel John A. J. Creswell of Cecil County was appointed Assistant Adjutant General and Superintendent of Enrollment. Each county and Baltimore City was constituted an Enrollment District, with an enrolling officer at the head of each. After enrollment was complete, legal exemptions were to be allowed. From the remainder, the quota of the State was to be drawn by ballots.<sup>33</sup> On August 25 Bradford notified the War Department that Maryland's enrollment was progressing "as fast as possible" but that the State could not be ready for the draft on September 3 and would need ten additional days. The Assistant Adjutant General, C. P. Buckingham, replied to the Governor on the 27th that he could exceed the time limit only on his own responsibility. Three days later, however, Buck-

<sup>30</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, August 9, 1862.

<sup>31</sup> *Baltimore American*, August 9, 11, 14, 1862.

<sup>32</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, August 11, 1862. See Appendix C for exemptions.

<sup>33</sup> *Baltimore American*, August 12, 13, 1862; *Baltimore Sun*, August 12, 13, 1862. The *American* commended Creswell's appointment, asserting he had the business qualifications, the firmness, and decisiveness necessary. The *Sun* explained in detail how the State's quota was determined.

ingham notified Bradford that the "peculiar situation" in Maryland was appreciated by the War Department and hence the State's quota was being cut to 6,000 men.<sup>34</sup> He also added that no draft was yet underway, only a notice of it having been given.

The reduction in Maryland's quota did not entice men to enlist, nor speed up the drafting. Moreover, Bradford found it necessary to inform Secretary Stanton on September 2 that enrolling officials were menaced with personal violence in several counties and had asked him for protection. He was unable to secure adequate enrolling officials and those he had were in constant fear of their lives and loss of their property. One officer had his grain sacks burned. Bradford asked Stanton for a small military force to support the enrollment officers. He had found Major General John E. Wool, Commanding the Middle Department, unwilling to give such help. The Governor felt that five hundred men would suffice to guarantee enrollment. Until such aid arrived, enrollment would hardly be successful in Maryland.<sup>35</sup> General Wool, meanwhile, explained to Stanton that he could not spare troops to aid enrollment. Furthermore, he observed heatedly that

If a State cannot enforce its own laws without U. S. soldiers we may as well give up at once. The odium ought not be thrown on the U. S. troops; there is no necessity so for doing. If the State of Maryland cannot enforce enrollment let it be put under martial law. I do not want men who are to be forced into the service. We have now more treason in the Army than we can get along with. This is no fiction.<sup>36</sup>

Enrollment was stimulated in Baltimore City when the City Council passed the aforementioned ordinance on September 5 providing for bounties. Another stimulant was the threat of invasion from the South. When General Lee's Army entered Maryland in this month a direct need for troops was evident. Governor Bradford asked for volunteers by proclamation to fill out infantry and cavalry forces to meet the anticipated siege of Baltimore.<sup>37</sup> Three days later he asked Stanton for infantry arms and equipment for four or five thousand men. Constantly aware and reminded of his State's poor showing in supplying troops to the

<sup>34</sup> For this and related correspondence see *OR*, Series 3, II, 374, 418, 456, 465, 471, 492-493.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 506-507.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, II, 509.

<sup>37</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, September 8, 1862; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, Diary, p. 75.

Federal Service, the Governor figured to capitalize on Lee's invasion in this respect. He asserted that although the men would be used chiefly to meet the State's emergencies, "those emergencies are just now so intimately connected with the national cause that it would seem to be important in every aspect that we should avail ourselves of the spirit now aroused, and arm as many as possible of our loyal people."<sup>38</sup> Stanton agreed to supply the arms the Governor requested as fast as men could be organized into companies. Consequently, Bradford appealed to the citizens of Maryland again on September 12 to hasten the organization of such companies.<sup>39</sup> Stanton later furnished Maryland with cavalry companies and infantry regiments to help enforce the draft. They were directed by Bradford to act "with all possible discretion, and at the same time with such firmness and determination as will ensure the completion of the Enrollment and Draft and convince those who may threaten to resist it of the futility and folly of such an attempt."<sup>40</sup>

As the weeks wore on, bounties of many kinds were offered to Maryland citizens to encourage their enlistment in the Federal Service. The State as well as its counties and towns supplemented Federal bounties. On September 30, Bradford sent three checks of \$1,000 each to the commissioners of Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford counties, as one-third share of a \$3,000 donation by the Directors of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad that traversed these counties. The fund was to be used exclusively for bounties for volunteers.<sup>41</sup>

These bounties, plus the scare Lee had given Maryland, the aid given by Federal officials to Maryland's enrollment officers, and the persistent efforts of Governor Bradford enabled him to report, upon request, to the War Department on November 24 that since July 2 four new infantry regiments, one battery, and several cavalry companies had been added to Maryland's "three years'

<sup>38</sup> Bradford to Stanton, September 11, 1862. OR, Series 3, II, 537-538.

<sup>39</sup> Bradford Diary, September 12, 1862. Applications for arms were to be filed at the office of William B. Hill, Secretary of State, at 70 W. Fayette Street in Baltimore.

<sup>40</sup> Directions of Bradford to Captain Watkins, in command of a cavalry company attached to the Purnell Legion, Maryland Volunteers, October 13, 1862, Bradford MSS. Captain Watkins was to aid enrollment in Anne Arundel County. See *Ibid.* for similar letter, November 5, 1862, to Colonel Nicodemus, Commanding the Fourth Maryland Volunteers, who was to aid enrollment in St. Mary's County.

<sup>41</sup> Bradford to Commissioners of Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford Counties, September 30, 1862. Executive Letter Book (Md.), 1862, pp. 335-336.

volunteers—in all, upwards of 3,000 men.”<sup>42</sup> His report appeared optimistic that the State would supply the 6,000 men required by the revised quota of August 30. A week later, the Governor advised Dr. Thomas I. Dunott, Examining Surgeon at Camp Bradford in Maryland, that all men must be given physical examinations whether or not they had been examined in their counties. Dr. Dunott, suggested the Governor, should make a distinction between the volunteer who would attempt to conceal defects and drafted men who exaggerated them to avoid service. He added that men should not be exempted because of such “technical defects” as deafness or the loss of a finger, a front tooth, or an eye! So long as a man could perform labor, he was fit for service.<sup>43</sup>

The winter and spring of 1863 saw another decline in recruitment in Maryland. Even the men in service became troublesome. Bradford notified Marylanders by proclamation on March 20 of President Lincoln’s warning that Congress had provided punishment for soldiers leaving military service without cause. They would be handled as deserters unless they returned to their regiments by April 1. While the Governor said he realized these men were taking advantage of the leniency hitherto extended to men who walked out of camp to visit home and failed to return, he urged Maryland soldiers to rejoin their units by April 1.<sup>44</sup>

The threatened invasion of Maryland and several other states in June, 1863, prompted President Lincoln to issue a proclamation on June 15 calling the militias of these states into Federal service. No quota as such was specified, but Maryland was to supply 10,000 militiamen for six months to protect her own soil.<sup>45</sup> These men would be credited to Maryland’s quotas still effective under previous calls and not filled. Bradford issued a call at once, stating that “every consideration connected with the subject demands that the call should be met by an offer of volunteers. When our own territory is threatened by an invader, let it never

<sup>42</sup> OR, Series 3, II, 865-866.

<sup>43</sup> Bradford to Dr. Dunott, December 1, 1862. Bradford MSS.

<sup>44</sup> Bradford Diary, March 20, 1863; Baltimore daily newspapers, same date.

<sup>45</sup> OR, Series 3, III, 360-361; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 69, pp. 309-310. Pennsylvania was to furnish 50,000 men; Ohio 30,000; and West Virginia 10,000—a total of 100,000. Maryland militiamen were to compose 8 regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. The units were to be mustered into Federal service upon attaining minimum strength, and then brought to maximum strength. See James B. Fry, Provost General, to Bradford, June 15, 1863. OR, Series 3, III, 362.



be said that we lacked the spirit to meet the emergency, or looked to others to provide for our defense."<sup>46</sup> The Governor invited volunteer militia organizations in Baltimore and other parts of the State to form the nucleus for complete regiments.

Marylanders either did not believe the State was in danger of invasion or had other reasons for failing to respond adequately to this latest call. The Governor renewed his appeal on June 21. He emphasized that any fears that men called up under this latest call would be used outside the State should be set aside. President Lincoln had promised otherwise. But in any event, asked the Governor, what if they were ordered elsewhere? It was their duty to go, for even as he spoke volunteers from six states were manning the defenses on Maryland Heights. Citizens of Maryland, he added, "sheltered as they are under the very shadow of the capital, should be the last in the Union to hesitate over any service of a national character that may be required of them." Bradford noted that some professed loyal men opposed the draft because of their opposition to serving along-side of some disloyal men who had been drafted. This was especially poor reasoning when the "foot of the invader" was on Maryland soil. Baltimore alone needed a thousand or so citizens on its fortifications. "To wield a pick or a spade for such a purpose is fully as honorable and just now quite as essential as to shoulder a musket or unsheath a sword."<sup>47</sup>

Fortunately Lee's armies did not molest the State at large as they passed through enroute to the decisive conflict at Gettysburg. Only 1,615 men answered the call for 10,000 in Maryland. It should be pointed out, however, that Baltimore City, Cecil, Kent, and Washington counties exceeded their assigned numbers. Resistance was great in some other counties. Serious threats were made and some houses actually assaulted and fired upon in Talbot County.<sup>48</sup> When Lee retired into Virginia, the War Department suspended further enlistment under this call.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXVII, part 3, pp. 169-170; Bradford Diary, June 16, 1863; Baltimore *Sun*, June 17, 1863.

<sup>47</sup> Bradford Diary, June 22, 1863; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 76, pp. 315-316.

<sup>48</sup> *OR*, Series 3, IV, 1265. For resistance to enrollment see letter of Captain and Provost Marshal John Frazier, Jr., First Maryland District Headquarters at Easton, to Colonel James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, July 14, 1863, *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 492. For resistance to enrollment at Jarrettsville, Harford County, see Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Diary, p. 35.

<sup>49</sup> *OR*, Series 3, III, 611 (General Orders No. 268).

A real hornet's nest was stirred up several days later when the *Baltimore Sun* announced that the War Department planned to credit the excess of enlistments in Maryland to the State at large rather than to Baltimore City and to Cecil, Kent, and Washington Counties which had exceeded their quotas while the remainder of the State fell short.<sup>50</sup> This announcement brought a quick retort from George Vickers of Chestertown. He wrote to Governor Bradford that such action would be most unjust. Union men in Kent County had spent much time and money to meet their quota by volunteers in order to escape the draft, while in the "secession counties of St. Mary's, not perhaps six volunteers were supplied." The War Secretary's action would give St. Mary's and other counties the benefit of the patriotic exertions and expenditures of Kent and the aforementioned units which had exceeded their quotas. The disloyal counties, said Vickers, should be compelled to furnish more, not fewer troops at the next call.<sup>51</sup>

Additional agitation developed in August, 1863, when plans were put into motion to recruit colored troops in Maryland. Such a movement was steadily opposed by Union conservatives who objected to connecting the Negro question with the aims of the war in any manner. Federal authorities, however, estimated that eight to ten Negro regiments could be recruited in the State by the proper methods. Impressment, hitherto resorted to, was not now considered a proper method. It had caused the "ablest of them [colored] to run to the woods, imparting their fears to the slaves, thus keeping them out of our lines, and we get only those who are too ignorant or indolent to take care of themselves."<sup>52</sup>

The opposition of many in Maryland to the recruitment of colored troops did not prevail. Colonel William Birney was placed in charge of this activity and set about his task with good qualifications. He was considered a thorough organizer of a regiment and readily commanded the confidence of the Negro. Recruitment stations were set up throughout the State.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, Provost Marshal James B. Fry attempted to provide a more

<sup>50</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, August 14, 1863.

<sup>51</sup> Vickers to Bradford, August 14, 1863. Bradford MSS.

<sup>52</sup> Major George L. Stearns, Recruiting Commissioner of Colored Volunteers, to Secretary Stanton, from Philadelphia headquarters, August 17, 1863, *OR*, Series 3, III, 683-684.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 683-684, 937-938. A list of towns where such recruiting stations were set up is included.

uniform and harmonious execution of the enrollment act by assigning to each state capital an officer of rank from his department whose duties were to confer with the Governor and other civil officers, superintend the operations of the provost marshals and boards of enrollment, and provide all rolls and reports he thought should be in the files of the state. In return, he would seek from state officials all information of use to enrollment officers and the War Department. Major Noah L. Jeffries, Assistant Adjutant General of Volunteers, was given this assignment in Maryland. Operating in Baltimore, his services as a general liaison officer seem to have been of value both to the State and the War Department.<sup>54</sup>

The exigencies of the war led President Lincoln to issue proclamations on October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864, calling for 500,000 additional soldiers for three years.<sup>55</sup> As usual Governor Bradford had chief responsibility for filling Maryland's quotas which came to 10,794. One of Major Jeffries' duties was to assist Bradford. Recruitment was again slow. On December 26 Bradford informed all six months volunteers who proposed to enlist, and all potential recruits, that Congress would cut off Federal bounties after January 5, 1864. He therefore urged that the liberal bounty terms be accepted before they were cancelled; otherwise, a draft would follow with no bounties.<sup>56</sup>

The no-bounty threat did not work, especially during the Christmas season. With the threat of the Federal bounty being cut off, Maryland officials decided the State would have to take up the slack in bounties. A special committee of the House of Delegates reported a Bounty bill on January 27, 1864, which, as finally passed, appropriated \$4,000,000 for bounties. The provisions of this measure were explained by Governor Bradford in a public announcement. Every new volunteer (slaves excepted) who enlisted for three years before March 1, 1864, was to receive \$300, half of which was to be paid at the time of enlistment, \$100 of it in five monthly installments, and the remaining \$50 at the end of his service. Volunteers who had already served six months were to receive the same bounty, with \$25 extra at the end of

<sup>54</sup> Fry to Bradford, August 18, 1863. *Ibid.*, Series 3, III, 687-689. Detailed orders from Fry to Jeffries are included.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1265, and III, 1012.

<sup>56</sup> Bradford Diary, December 26, 1863, for Bradford's proclamation. It incorporates contents of a circular of the War Department on bounties.

service. Owners of slaves were to receive \$100 for each slave enlisted when a valid deed of manumission was filed. The slave would receive \$50 at the time of enlistment and \$50 at the time of his discharge from service. Except in the case of slaves, the wife or children of the volunteer would receive his bounty in case he was killed in service.<sup>57</sup> The situation was additionally improved when the Federal Government also passed new bounty legislation, so that a veteran reenlisting in Maryland could secure a total bounty of \$725 under the new State and Federal systems, while a man enlisting for the first time could obtain \$600. Slave owners received \$300 from the Federal Government in addition to the \$100 provided by Maryland, but the slave himself received no Federal bounty.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, the recruitment of colored troops was intensified and many abuses were reported. In Prince George's County, colored troops entered the jail and freed twenty-one prisoners, some of whom were convicted of serious crimes.<sup>59</sup> When Congress extended bounty payments under this new legislation from March 1 to April 1, Governor Bradford urged the State legislature to match the Federal bounties. His request was heeded.<sup>60</sup> Maryland furnished 6,244 of the 10,794 men requested of her.

The next call for troops by Lincoln was on March 14 when he stated that an adequate reserve force of 200,000 men was required. Maryland was to raise 4,317 men and for the first time came through as requested. Altogether, 9,365 men responded.<sup>61</sup> The combination of Federal and State bounties was helping to make loyal men out of many Marylanders! Negro enlistments increased and these were to be credited to the State's quotas. Administrative and other problems, however, continued to be numerous. Bradford and Provost Marshal General Fry, for example, disagreed over the crediting of troops. On May 9, 1864, Bradford wrote to Fry that 7,000 to 8,000 colored troops mustered into

<sup>57</sup> Bradford Diary, February 8, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, February 10, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, 1864. See *Baltimore American*, January 28 and February 2, 4, 5, 8, 1864 for legislative action on the bill.

<sup>58</sup> *Baltimore American*, February 8, 1864.

<sup>59</sup> See letter of State's Attorney Edward W. Belt of Prince George's County to Bradford, March 15, 1864. Executive Letter Book (Md.) 1864, pp. 496-498. See *Ibid.* for Bradford's letters in protest, March 16, 1864, to both President Lincoln and U. S. Senator from Maryland, Reverdy Johnson.

<sup>60</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, March 5, 1864.

<sup>61</sup> *OR*, Series 3, IV, 1265.

Federal service from Maryland were not all credited. It was a "fact universally admitted," he said, "that the State at the lowest calculation has lost of her laborers of this class [colored] at least double the number of those actually mustered into the service, and lost them, too, in a great measure by reason of the irregularities practised by the recruiting officer in taking of those obviously unfit for military service . . ." Some agricultural lands were without labor as a result. The Governor added that he disliked to "dwell at all upon other circumstances in the history of the condition of this State, growing out of the number of her disloyal citizens who have gone South that would entitle the loyal ones at home to liberal considerations; but dealing with us ever so strictly, we have certainly the right to expect full crediting." He asked for "simple justice."<sup>62</sup>

For his part, Fry was not happy over Bradford's complaints. He replied that "due credit" had been given for all Maryland men, including a total of 6,404 colored recruits. He was "unable to discover" wherein Maryland had not been given liberal considerations, nor did he concede that the State had been dealt with "ever so strictly." He added:

The facts are these, as they appear to me:

First. The quotas assigned to you since March 3, 1863, have all been based upon an enrollment of the white persons found to be still in the State after the disloyal persons had gone South. The quotas being in proportion to the number of men left, the fact that some men had gone South previous to the enrollment worked no hardship.

Second. After being assigned quotas in proportion to the enrollment of white men as above, the slaves were enrolled and are used for filling the quotas of volunteers and draft but have not been counted to increase the quota. That is surely not dealing 'strictly' with you.

Third. During the years 1861 and 1862 quotas were assigned to your State, as to other States, on the basis of your population. Those quotas were not raised, and on a settlement of your accounts for those years you were found to be deficient 9,892 men. Instead of being added to the number now required of you, as has been the case in other States, this large deficit has been entirely omitted from your account. I think, therefore, that Maryland has received 'liberal considerations' and that Your Excellency's claim for 'simple justice' has been more than satisfied.<sup>63</sup>

Recalling Southern incursions in and through Maryland in the

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 279-280.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 281-282.

two preceding summers, Secretary of War Stanton suggested on May 13, 1864, that Governor Bradford as Commander in Chief of the State Militia call out 2,000 men for 100 days. These would be used to relieve other troops at the Baltimore fortifications. "Our arms," Stanton added, "now appear victorious, and a helping hand at the present moment from you might contribute greatly to the speedy restoration of peace. Will you do this?" Bradford was agreeable, but stated arms for these troops would have to be provided by the Federal government.<sup>64</sup> Subsequently, Bradford issued a proclamation calling for men to fill two, or, if possible, three regiments. He emphasized that such men would receive the same pay and rations given to other volunteers and could not be compelled to perform duties outside of the State without his consent.<sup>65</sup> The *Baltimore American* urged men unfit for heavier field soldiery to volunteer for these lighter duties. Storekeepers who could spare clerks would enable veterans to go to the front as well as relieve militia from other states who manned posts in Baltimore, added this journal.<sup>66</sup>

Once again Governors Bradford asserted his convictions that these 100-day volunteers should be credited to the State's overall quota and their names withdrawn from the current draft lists. Secretary Stanton, however, would not allow this, maintaining that such troops were still subject to the draft although he would approve their being credited with the time served locally.<sup>67</sup> This ruling meant there was no particular inducement to serve in the local forces. Consequently, only 1,297 men responded.<sup>68</sup> George Vickers of Chestertown, a frequent correspondent with Bradford, wrote to the Governor of the hardships of raising troops in Kent County under this call. The County Commissioners had to be prevailed upon to appropriate \$1800 for bounties, which sum had to be borrowed. Also, said Vickers the loss of farm labor to the service threatened to result in the loss of grain. Without adequate labor, and also unable to raise sufficient funds to acquire

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXXVII, part 1, 451-452. Stanton's letter to Bradford and Bradford's to Stanton are both dated May 13, 1864.

<sup>65</sup> Proclamation dated May 14, 1864. *Baltimore American*, May 16, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, May 16, 17, 18, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, May 16, 1864.

<sup>66</sup> *Baltimore American*, May 14, 1864.

<sup>67</sup> Stanton to Major General Wallace, May 14, 1864, and Wallace to Stanton, same date. *OR*, Series 1, XXXVII, part 1, 458-459.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1266-1267.

reapers, farmers were hard-pressed.<sup>69</sup> Despite such situations, more normal than otherwise by this stage of the war, Bradford continued to urge the people to cooperate. On July 9, 1864, he issued a proclamation jointly with Mayor Chapman of Baltimore declaring that the City was in imminent danger of the approaching enemy and every available man was needed for the City's defense.<sup>70</sup> As a result of this alarm, the City's militia was readied for an attack which never materialized, although Confederate cavalymen were sighted near the city. Bradford discharged the City militia on July 25, thanking them for their prompt organization and spirit, and urging them to remain intact and to perfect their organization in case of future need.<sup>71</sup> The new commander of the Middle Department, Major General Lewis Wallace, seconded Bradford's appreciation, thanking those "citizens who so promptly and cheerfully took up arms to assist the regular forces of the government," and citing their "courage and loyalty." He further suggested that the city government place their names on "rolls of honor" for future reference.<sup>72</sup>

The situation was not as relieved elsewhere. As the Federal Government sought to end the conflict, one call for troops followed another in monotonous regularity. On July 18, 1864, President Lincoln called for 500,000 men. Unless quotas were filled under this call by September 5, a draft would be conducted. Maryland was to raise 10,947 and came through well again, as in March, ultimately enlisting 10,235.<sup>73</sup> Volunteers under this call were allowed to enlist for one to three years and were entitled to all bounties being paid at the time.

The Western counties—Allegany, Washington, and Frederick, and also Montgomery County—had been subject to rebel invasion and were hard-pressed to furnish their quotas. Governor Bradford joined with Governor A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania in requesting of President Lincoln that their states be credited with volunteers they contemplated placing on the Potomac River to guard the five or six fords used by the Confederates to raid Maryland and Pennsylvania.<sup>74</sup> In this connection, Provost Marshal

<sup>69</sup> Vickers to Bradford, June 14, 1864, Bradford MSS.

<sup>70</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, July 11, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, July 11, 1864.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13, 14, 15, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, July 13, 1864.

<sup>72</sup> *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, July 18, 1864.

<sup>73</sup> OR, Series 3, IV, 515, 1266-1267. The number furnished does not include 31 paid commutations.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 533-534.

General Fry advised Secretary Stanton on July 31, 1864, that in accordance with the Act of Congress, approved February 13, 1862, no volunteers or militia of any state would be mustered into Federal service for guaranteed duty purely within states as home or local defense units, except those previously allowed Missouri and Maryland. Fry added that he felt this act was sound; otherwise, regular recruitment would be greatly disrupted. He also felt the plan to fortify and defend five or six fording places not sound. Rather, he would extend the Union frontiers to such points as Strasburg, Front Royal, Warrenton, and Fredericksburg, and defend them at those places. The War Department notified Bradford and Curtin on August 1 that their request was rejected.<sup>75</sup>

Prominent officials and citizens of Washington County, citing that County's fine record in furnishing troops in the past, requested Governor Bradford and Federal authorities to allow the County's excess enlistments of earlier years to be credited to it now. Isaac Nesbit, called by Bradford "one of the most prominent and loyal citizens of Washington County," wrote that the people of his County had

suffered greatly in every way in the loss of property, and men by emigration, and in the paralyzation of all branches of industrial pursuits; and to take this remaining portion of our able-bodied men without the opportunity like that afforded to other communities to supply their places in some way, would indeed be very hard upon us.<sup>76</sup>

According to a letter from the Mayor, Council, and Clerk of Hagerstown, Washington County and especially Hagerstown had been "the theater of invasions, raids, and strife by the enemy" from early in July until mid-August. Five times the enemy had invaded the county and four times had taken and held actual possession of Hagerstown, the county seat. Large amounts of stock, grain, merchandise, and produce, estimated at \$80,000 value, had been carried off, leaving a "helpless people utterly destitute, and in many instances impoverishing and utterly ruining whole families." Washington County was willing, according to this communiqué, but needed time.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Nesbit's letter was to Bradford who forwarded it to General Fry. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 685-686.

<sup>77</sup> This letter, also addressed to Bradford, was likewise forwarded to Fry. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 685-686, 736-738, 781, 785.



The request of Washington County was not allowed, but the draft was delayed in this county. The draft was rescheduled to begin in the State on September 19. An unsuccessful effort to have it postponed was made by a deputation of Baltimore citizens, including the Mayor, who visited the Secretary of War with this in view.<sup>78</sup>

The draft proceeded rather stormily in Baltimore. The Provost Marshal General's office there notified General Fry on October 16 that "In Baltimore the drafted men mostly escaped before notice could be served upon them or they could be arrested, while forbearance from day to day stimulated volunteering, and thus nearly filled the quota."<sup>79</sup> The final call came on December 19 when President Lincoln asked for 300,000 volunteers for one, two, or three years. Maryland supplied only 4,941 men of the 9,142 assigned her.<sup>80</sup> Despite her fine response to the July call, this poor December response is not surprising in view of the situation described in the fall months.

Until the close of the war, Maryland was plagued by continuing problems of raising troops, providing bounties, and wrangling over the crediting of enlistments. The Maryland House of Delegates petitioned the Federal government in February, 1865, for a postponement of the draft so that the State could fill its quota by volunteers under the provisions of the state bounty law.<sup>81</sup> In March Governor Bradford again warned all Maryland soldiers who had taken the usual unauthorized winter leave to return to their regiments at once. Otherwise, he pointed out, under a new law of Congress, they would be "forever incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, or of exercising any rights of citizens thereof."<sup>82</sup> Mayor Chapman, meanwhile, vetoed the Baltimore City Council's ordinance that provided \$200 bounties to drafted men. This amount, he said, was more than the laboring man of the City could earn, and therefore to grant it would be unfair.<sup>83</sup> The *Baltimore American* differed with the Mayor. Although it had always felt the bounty system

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1002.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 785.

<sup>80</sup> This number does not include three paid commutations. *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1267-1268.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 3, IV, 1179.

<sup>82</sup> *Baltimore American*, March 29, 1865.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

improper, it did not feel enlisted personnel should be denied bounties now since those who had enlisted earlier had been awarded them.<sup>84</sup>

When hostilities finally ceased, readjustment to peace was not difficult for Maryland insofar as military manpower problems were concerned. Federal authorities sent Governor Bradford instructions relating to the discharge of home troops.<sup>85</sup> Soon there was little military organization in the State. There did spring up a group of "substitute brokers" who took advantage of the State legislature's delay in paying bounties. They fleeced poor soldiers and circulated false reports that Maryland did not intend to pay the bounties by August 1. But the *Baltimore American* advised that "It is far better for the men to wait until that time than to sell their certificates now at a discount of from \$50 to \$100, and we hope they will do so, for the benefit of themselves and families. The State will pay the bounty in cash, and not in bonds or certificates."<sup>86</sup> On June 1, 1865, the Treasurer of Maryland accounted that through arrangements made with Baltimore banks, and with the ordinary receipts of the Treasury, the State was able to pay all drafts as presented from that time forward.<sup>87</sup>

Soldiers returning from the field were greeted by Governor Bradford in an address on June 6. To those of the Maryland Brigade he said that their patriotism had taken them to war, for they enlisted voluntarily. Now he could gaze upon their "sunburnt countenances, the tattered uniforms, and the way worn form of the remnant of those gallant and chivalrous men." They had fought for a principle, not from compulsion or pay, he said, and honor was due them for their sterling work throughout the war.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> OR, Series 3, V, 28-29, 37, 42-43.

<sup>86</sup> *Baltimore American*, May 30, 1865.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1, 1865.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, June 6, 1865.

# APPENDIX A

## U. S. CALLS AND DRAFTS: MARYLAND'S CONTRIBUTIONS <sup>a</sup> (Details found in text)

Date	U. S. Number Requested	For What Duration	Maryland's Quota	Maryland Furnished	Remarks
Apr. 15, 1861	75,000 Militia	3 months	3,123	0	
May 3, 1861	500,000	3 years	15,578	9,355	
July 2, 1862	300,000	3 years	8,532	3,586 <sup>b</sup>	Results of a call for volunteers by Md. 5/28/62 unknown
August 4, 1862	300,000 Militia	3 years	8,532	0	Quota cut to 6,000
June 15, 1863	Indefinite number of militiamen	6 months	10,000 <sup>c</sup>	1,615	No quota as such, but number expected specified
Oct. 17, 1863 Feb. 1, 1864	500,000	3 years	10,794	6,244	An additional 1,106 paid commutation.
Mar. 14, 1864	200,000	3 years	4,317	9,365	An additional 2,528 paid commutation.
May 14, 1864		100 days	2,000 <sup>d</sup>	1,297	Call by Gov. Bradford at suggestion Secretary War
July 18, 1864	500,000	1, 2, 3, 4 years <sup>e</sup>	10,947	10,266 <sup>e</sup>	An additional 31 paid commutation.
Dec. 19, 1864	300,000	1, 2, 3 years <sup>f</sup>	9,142	4,944 <sup>f</sup>	An additional 3 paid commutation.

Totals  
Aggregate quotas for Md.....70,965  
Maryland furnished .....46,672 <sup>g</sup>  
Paid commutations ..... 3,666 <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Data taken from *Official Records*, Series 3, IV, 1264-70, V, 730-745.

<sup>b</sup> 3,586 is no. furnished under both calls—July 2 and Aug. 4, 1864.

<sup>c</sup> For service on Md. soil only.

<sup>d</sup> For service on Md. soil only.

<sup>e</sup> 6,198 for 1 yr.; 246 for 2 yrs.; 3,727 for 3 yrs.; 64 for 4 yrs.

<sup>f</sup> 3,236 for 1 yr.; 430 for 2 yrs.; 1,275 for 3 yrs.

<sup>g</sup> Author's addition. *OR*, Ser. 3, IV, 1269 says 46,638.

<sup>h</sup> Author's addition. *Ibid.* says 3,678.

APPENDIX B  
CIVIL WAR DRAFTS, MARYLAND \*  
(Additional Data)

		July, 1863		March 14, 1864		July 18, 1864		December 19, 1864	
		U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.	U. S.	Md.
Whole number drawn		292,441	5,619	113,446	11,498	231,918	7,090	139,024	5,112
Failed to report	a)	39,415	836	27,193	3,812	66,159	2,639	28,477	1,920
Discharged, full quota	b)	447		1,227	6	26,416	402	18,011	7
Discharged per order	c)	13		69	0	807	0	46,408	1,126
Total—a, b, c		39,875	836	28,489	3,818	93,382	3,041	92,896	3,053
Number examined		252,566	4,783	84,957	7,680	138,536	4,049	46,128	2,059
† Personally held	d)	9,881	109	3,416	484	26,205	625	6,845	208
Furnished substitutes	e)	26,002	368	8,911	843	28,502	902	10,192	343
Paid commutation money	f)	52,288	1,106	32,678	2,538	1,298	31	460	3
Total accepted—d, e, f		88,171	1,583	45,005	3,865	56,005	1,558	17,497	554
Total exempted		164,395	3,200	39,952	3,815	82,531	2,491	28,631	1,505

† Also listed as "Held to personal service."

\* *OR*, Series 3, V, 730-739.

APPENDIX C  
DRAFT EXEMPTIONS IN MARYLAND \*

Exempted because of—	Draft of July 1863	Draft of Mar. 14, 1863	Draft of Jul. 18, 1864	Draft of Dec. 19, 1864
1. Physical Disability	1,126	2,150	1,492	716
2. Mental Disability	13	6	4	3
3. Aliens	583	462	195	203
4. Over 45	105	675	385	232
5. Over 35 and married	326	—	—	—
6. Under 20	165	154	81	31
7. Non-residents	16	87	112	59
8. In service when drafted	250	131	44	58
9. Dead	29	32	17	13
10. Erroneous enrollment	64	112	35	24
11. Two years in service	—	4	12	28
12. Rebel deserter	—	1	6	23
13. Slaves	16	—	—	—
14. Discharged, order Secretary War	6	—	—	—
15. Skilled mechanic	—	1	5	11
16. Only son of widow	278	—	—	—
17. Only son of aged parents	72	—	—	—
18. Elected under 4th clause	35	—	—	—
19. Only brother of children under twelve	10	—	—	—
20. Father of motherless children	74	—	—	—
21. Two brothers in service	14	—	—	—
22. Convicted of felony	6	—	—	—
23. Substitute in service, 3/3/1863	12	—	—	—
24. Miscellaneous	—	—	103	104
Total Exempted	3,200	3,815	2,491	1,505

\* *OR*, Series 3, V, 730-734.

## APPENDIX D

## BOUNTIES PAID BY MARYLAND TO ITS CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS, 1864 \*

Congressional District	Call of March 14, 1864		Call of July 18, 1864		Call of Dec. 19, 1864		Grand aggregate bounty paid
	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	Average cost per man	Aggregate bounty paid	
First							\$ 369,000.00
Second	\$337.57	\$ 843,932.50	\$454.10	\$552,645	\$302.43	\$359,900	1,756,477.50
Third	571.21	1,428,017.50	578.63	887,055	227.76	290,400	2,605,472.50
Fourth	164.82	412,056.00	154.73	143,287	570.02	845,912	1,401,255.00
Fifth	9.99	29,990.00	39.53	29,990	129.19	78,807	139,787.00
Total							\$6,271,992.00

\*(NOTE: "All information which can be obtained. The grand aggregate is nearly correct, but the aggregates under the different calls cannot be exactly divided." *OP*, Series 8, V, 744-745. Maryland shows no bounties under the calls of 1863. There is no breakdown at all for the 1st Congressional District, only the total).

## COVER PICTURE:

### OMENHAUSSER'S CONFEDERATE PRISONERS OF WAR SKETCH

THE sketch reproduced on the cover of this issue is one of 46 watercolors made in 1865 by John T. Omenhausser, prisoner of war at Point Lookout Prison, Maryland. The artist's sketchbook, purchased for the Society on March 15, 1945, by a group of members, bears the name "M. H. Church" embossed in gold on the outside cover. A Captain Morris H. Church was a member of the U. S. Veteran Reserve Corps, units of which guarded the prison depot in its early days. In July, 1864, he commanded a guard detail employed in moving prisoners from Point Lookout to Elmira, N. Y. Later, units of U. S. Colored Infantry were assigned to guard duty at the Point.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of the artist Omenhausser, and information about him will be welcomed.

In bright colors the primitive sketches vividly depict many facets of prison life—the fashioning of trinkets, the eternal scrounging for clothing, food and warmth, and the quarreling of the inmates among themselves and with their guards. Explanatory legends, rich in male humor and gentle satire, accompany the drawings.

The cover picture shows, on the left, a mild dispute as to priority in the purchase of freshly cooked hominy. The purveyor waves a spoon in protesting, "Gentlemen don't quarrell, [*sic*] there's enough for all, I'm only sorry that I have not got more plates to accomodate [*sic*] you at once." The crouching prisoner tries the power of suggestion with, "Wish them fell[ow]s would get into a fight, and kick over the kettle of corn. Wouldn't I eat." On the right the auctioning of a penknife is momentarily halted by a doubter who demands to examine the knife, saying, "I don't buy a cat in the bag." The dejected prisoner seated

<sup>1</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 2, VII, 488, 489; *In Vinculis; or, The Prisoner of War*, by A Virginia Confederate, [Anthony W. Keiley] (Petersburg, 1866), p. 69.

in the center engages in the daily task of plucking "graybacks" from his shirt. From the raised parapet above one can almost hear the measured pace of the ever-present sentinel.

Designated as a prisoner of war depot on July 20, 1863, Point Lookout was to accommodate a maximum of 10,000 men.<sup>2</sup> By April 1864 the prisoner population was 12,617, and a year later it reached a peak of 20,110. The last tabulation, totaling 18,836, was made in June, 1865. Official figures list 2,950 deaths and 50 escapes during the 24 months of operation.<sup>3</sup> However, later investigations relative to re-internment and to the erection of a monument commemorating the Confederates who died there, raised the number of known deaths to 3,384.<sup>4</sup>

Life at the Point was the subject of several full accounts by former prisoners.<sup>5</sup> One by Anthony M. Keiley, later mayor of Richmond, Va., is vehement in tone, but lacks the bitterness which might have led to exaggeration. The following passage, from his *In Vinculis; Or The Prisoner of War*, pp. 58-59, describes the appearance of the prison:

The military prison . . . at Point Lookout, consisted of two inclosures, the one containing about thirty, the other about ten acres of flat sand, on the northern shore of the Potomac . . . but a few inches above high tide, and utterly innocent of tree [or] shrub. . . .<sup>6</sup> Each was surrounded by a fence about fifteen feet high . . . around the top of which on the outer face, and about twelve feet from the ground, ran a platform, on which twenty or thirty sentinels were posted, keeping watch . . . night and day. . . . Besides these precautions, a strongly fortified palisade stretched across the tongue of land on which the prisons stood from the bay on the northeast to the Potomac on the southwest. . . . One face of each of these "pens," the eastern, fronted on the bay, and gates led from the inclosures to a narrow belt of land between the fence and the water, which was free to the prisoners during the day, piles being driven into the bay on either hand to prevent any dextrous "rebs" from flanking out. A certain portion of the water was marked off . . . for bathing

<sup>2</sup> *OR*, 2, VI, 132, 141.

<sup>3</sup> *OR*, 2, VIII, 991-1002.

<sup>4</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXVIII, 295-297.

<sup>5</sup> *In Vinculis*. Charles T. Loehr, "Point Lookout," *SHSP*, XVIII, 113-120; William W. Pierson, Jr., Ed., "The Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* (Chapel Hill, 1919), XVI, No. 2, 5-59; J. B. Traywick, "Prison Life at Point Lookout," *SHSP*, XVIII, 431-435; and James T. Wells, "Prison Experience," *ibid.*, VII, 324-329, 393-398, 487-491.

<sup>6</sup> Edwin T. Beitzell, *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, II, No. 4, 18, "Point Lookout, Maryland," gives 23 acres as the size of the larger "pen." Beitzell's series of articles in Nos. 3, 4 and 5 of the *Chronicles* is the only exhaustive study.



purposes, and most of the prisoners gladly availed themselves of the privilege . . . although, as the same locality . . . was devoted to the reception of all the filth of the camp, I admit a squeamishness which deprived me of sea-bathing as long as I stayed there.

Another account by James T. Wells, Second Carolina Infantry, describes the barter and trade which were carried on along the narrow strip between fence and water:

. . . Greenbacks and Confederate money were both legal, and passed at the regular rates of exchange. . . . Various kinds of currency were in circulation, the principal of which was "hard tack" and tobacco. With a hard tack you could purchase a chew of tobacco, or *vice versa*. . . . Whenever any one wanted a chew of tobacco, he could cry out, "Here's your hard tack for your tobacco." Immediately someone would answer, "Here's your tobacco," and this would apply to anything which might be wanted. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Wells also states:

There were many portrait and landscape painters, and many fine pictures were produced there. One, "The Prisoner's Dream of Home," was greatly admired and coveted by many, but money could not purchase it from the owner.

It is interesting to note that one of Omenhausser's watercolors is titled "The Rebel's Dream in Prison." It depicts a handsome and obviously well-fed gentleman in immaculate *civilian* attire. He is all but surrounded by two lovely belles, one of whom nestles close to him as she languidly strums a mandolin. Doubtless the subject—with infinite variations in treatment—was a favorite one in Confederate and Federal prisons alike.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

<sup>7</sup> SHSP, VII, 489.

## SIDELIGHTS

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### A JOURNEY FROM FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA, TO NEW YORK.

The following journal was kept by Robert Lewis, nephew of George Washington and employed by him as copyist and later as private secretary. It describes Martha Washington's trip to the president's first inauguration. Lewis appears to be the chief escort and major domo of the journey. Many now historic places are noted and several prominent Virginians and Marylanders are mentioned or characterized by Lewis. Unfortunately his journal comes to an abrupt end, and no other pages have ever been found among the Robert Lewis Papers. Yet the document, *however fragmentary, is significant, for it affords a brief peek backwards into early American society.*

"A Journey" was contributed by Mrs. Francis F. Beirne and edited by Richard Walsh. It is part of the manuscript collection of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

On Wednesday the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1789 I left F—g. accompanied by Mr Francis Thornton Jun<sup>r</sup> we arrived at Dumfries after I had experienced the most disagreeable sensations imaginable — with the reflections of parting with an Aged Mother and Grandmother, — besides other numerous relatives and acquaintances, who all appeared equally affected at our separation: — when our hands touched, perhaps, for the last time and our tongues refused to perform their office in bidding farewell. Heaven I am assured, witnessed and approved the purity and ardour of our affections. —

The sprightly conversation—and mutual condolence of my friend Th—n [Thornton] served in a great measure to alleviate the pangs which tore my breast. — Our arrival at Dumfries was between 12 & 1 o'clock — every house, stable, &c. was almost occupied by the number of persons that had come to the district Court — We regaled ourselves and Horses, then repaired to the Court House in serce [*sic.*] of B— W—,<sup>1</sup> whom we were told was there, — The vestibule of which was so crowded, that there was no possibility of getting in speech of him — we therefore concluded to proceed on as far Col<sup>o</sup> Blackburns<sup>2</sup> — where, we were informed he would certainly be in the course of the Evening.

On our way thither we were agreeably surprised to meet with Mr<sup>s</sup> B— W— who had left home with the intention of carrying her fugitive husband back with her; — as he had been absent some days — owing to the

<sup>1</sup> Washington Bushrod, 1762-1829, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Thomas Blackburn of Prince William County, father-in-law of Bushrod Washington.

multiplicity of business which required his attention. She prevailed on us to proceed — and entertain some ladies that she had left behind: — untill her arrival. — We remained here until late the next morning — and were highly diverted with our company, we had music, vocal & instrumental. The hour being arrived for us to depart, kissed all the girls — which example was soon followed by my friend Thornton with great seeming diffidence.

May 14th. We departed from Col<sup>o</sup> B— in company with Mr<sup>s</sup> Blackburn — Mr<sup>s</sup> W—n and Mr B. W— for M. V. [Mt. Vernon] nothing remarkable happened until we came there at which place on our arrival, — every thing appeared to be in confusion, — packing, — and making all the necessary preparations for the intended peregrination to N. Y. —

May 15th. Remained here all this day — and the following untill the evening — in which time — Thornton and myself diverted ourselves in walking, & viewing all the curiosities — that was to be seen — and thought ourselves fully compensated for the fatigue. — After taking an early dinner and making all the necessary arrangements in which we were greatly retard<sup>d</sup> — it brought us to three o'clock in the evening — when we left M. V. — The servants of the House, and a number of the field negroes made there [*sic.*] appearance — to take leave of their mistress — numbers of these poor wretches seemed greatly agitated, — My Aunt equally so.

May 16th. We travelled together as far as Alexandria — and left My Aunt at her request to proceed to Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuarts.<sup>3</sup> Thornton and myself put in at Mr B— W—s. and spent that night and the greater part of the next day with them untill the evening. Cousin George had in this time come from M— V—. We left my Friend Thornton with much regret — arrived at Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuarts late in the evening — where all was silent melancholy — and every one anticipated the effects of parting. —

May 18th. The Horses were hitched by 5 O'clock in the morning — Baggage put on, and everything in readiness to decamp — when alas! the dreaded hour appeared. — So pathetic and affecting a scene — I never wish to be again witness to. — We at length got off, by which I was greatly releived, — leaving the family in tears — the children a bawling — and every thing in a most lamentable [*sic.*] situation. — We arrived at the ferry opposite Geo. Town about 9 O'clock without any thing material happening: — the Horses were taken out, and left this side — as we were to get a fresh set from Col<sup>o</sup> Van Horn<sup>4</sup> to take us on the other: — we embarked in company with Stuart, his Brother Maj<sup>r</sup> Washington and Mr B— Bassett and got to G— Town with some difficulty — the river being very full, and a pretty strong current which drove us down a considerable distance and alarmed my Aunt not a little. — Col<sup>o</sup> Van H.s horses were then fixed to the coach, but my aunt preferred walking up to the tavern — and to let the carriage go around — which happened very

<sup>3</sup> David Stuart married Eleanor Calvert Custis, widow of John Parke Custis and daughter of Benedict Calvert of Mt. Airy.

<sup>4</sup> Col. Gabriel P. Van Horne, operator of a stage coach line.

luckily — the horses not being used to Breast plates which galled them; refused to take the draught at the Hill — and so baulked, they were lashed pretty roundly for their obstinacy — by which means — with their jumping and exertions broke one of the swingle trees — and the hook at the pole end of the car<sup>s</sup> — Col<sup>o</sup> V. H. then had to sent in the country for other horses — mean while the repairs to the carriage was doing: — which detained us two hours: — under all these misfortunes — we again made a second attempt and succeeded; persued our road to Bladensburg and got there at one oclock — took a cold cut with some wine to stay our appetites until we should get to Maj<sup>r</sup> Snowdens<sup>5</sup> where we proposed to Quarter than night. — The C—ty about this little village is very pretty and under good cultivation. I was delighted with their meadows orchards &c. I likewise called on a M<sup>r</sup> Cambell of this place with my written instructions to endeavor to purchase a horse which my Uncle had taken a fancy to being a match for his riding horse. — M<sup>r</sup> Cambell was from home — at Baltimore 'twas said, where I flattered myself I should see him. — After refreshing ourselves & horses, we parted with our escorts — (the Gentlemen before mentioned) our company now consisting of M<sup>rs</sup> W— the children, Col<sup>o</sup> V. H. and self, we again set out for Maj<sup>r</sup> Snowdens — where we arrived at 4 Oclock in the Evening — the roads were extremely narrow — muddy and bad — the carriage got hung between two trees — which were scarcely wide enough to admit it. — We were treated with great hospitallity and civility by the Maj<sup>r</sup> and his wife, who were very plain honest kind of folks and made every effort to make our stay as agreeable as possible.

I found myself a good deal indisposed with a head ache & thought a fever owing to a lollish young colt which I had to ride — but was releived by the purchase of a horse from M<sup>r</sup> Campbell, who came to M<sup>r</sup> Snowdens shortly after us — requested that I might go to bed which was readily granted — haply.

May 19<sup>th</sup> 1789. The morning was lowering and looked like rain — we were intreated to stay all day but to no effect — we had made our arrangements and it was impossible so therefore took leave of our kind hostess — who insisted that we should always make that a stop whenever we travelled that road. — M<sup>r</sup> Snowden accompanied us ten or a dozen miles to shew a near way and the best road — In conversation I discovered him to be a man of no inconsiderable possessions having got a large fortune by his wife, who was an heiress to an immense estate and married him merely for love he being a very handsome Man, of obscure parentage and no property. — M<sup>rs</sup> Snowden is of the middle statue, is between 25 or 30 years of age remarkably loquacious but sensible — she's very homely herself; but has several of the handsomest children I ever beheld. — The maj<sup>r</sup> is nearly 6 feet high and proportionably bulky — his physiognomy is preposessing [*sic*.] — but the nonsense and egotism which he lavishes in his own favour can not be borne with — he's likewise talkative (the

<sup>5</sup> Major Thomas Snowden, 1750-1803, of Montpelier.

qualification seems to be hereditary as it has descended from the parents to the children — who are also as vociferous — and have as great volubility of tongue as parots [*sic.*]. — We proceeded as far as Spurriers ordinary [on Route U. S. # 1, near Laurel] — and there refreshed ourselves and horses — parted with our kind conductor, previous to which I discovered him to be a complete horse Jockey. — Mrs Washington shifted herself here, expecting to be met by numbers of Gentlemen out of B—re — in which time we had every thing in readiness, the carriage, Horses, &c, at the door in waiting. — Our journey commenc'd again, — the treatment I had met with the preceding night afforded me matter for contemplation at least four miles — when I was interrupted by Col<sup>o</sup> V. H. who had in this time been before me some distance — we had ascended an eminence, and nearly reached the summit before I was disturbed in my cogitations — by an exclamation or shout from the Col<sup>o</sup> desiring me to observe the most beautiful prospect I had ever seen: — fond of seeing anything remarkable or curious — I quickened my pace and soon came up with him; — when to my utmost astonishment (after having travelled through a barren uncultivated soil) I beheld one of the most beautiful and yet limited landscapes I had ever seen in my life. — The bottom of this Hill is washed by the Patuxent [Patapsco] River, which forms an angle or elbow. In the eastern corner is situated a little village called Elkrige, which is irregular but the Houses small and neat and yet well built. This River takes its source near Fred<sup>k</sup> Town and runs a pretty direct course untill it comes to this place, from whence it meanders in an East direction untill it disembogues itself into the Chesapeake. — The farms which are situated on each side of this River are under the highest cultivation, interspersed with orchards — meadows &c. which form the most beautiful landscape that can be imagined — this prospect is bounded all round with large Hills or Mountains which intercepts a more extensive view. — We coasted it along down this River through the plantations before mentioned — (you are admitted into these places by large gates which are kept up at the expence of the state of Maryland — and are very common throughout the whole state) — untill we arrived at the Ferry which is not more than 40 yards wide — but very deep — we observed a number of small craft going up to Elkrige, there being a stiff breeze and the tide in their fav<sup>r</sup> we supposed them to run at the rate of 10 nots an hour: we put the coach on board the boat — leaving the Horses & servants behind and embarked — the wind by this time had risen almost to a storm — the waves running very high, the boat took in a great deal of water which frightened my Aunt a good deal, — however, by the exertions of our ferrymen, with the assistance of Col<sup>o</sup> V. H. and myself we reached the opposite shore where we were met by several Gentlemn from B—— who had come out for the purpose of escorting Mrs W— into town — the party consisted of Doc<sup>r</sup> M<sup>o</sup> H.—<sup>s</sup> Capt<sup>t</sup> B—, Col<sup>o</sup> B.— and one or two other Gent<sup>m</sup> whose names I do not

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\* Dr. James McHenry, 1753-1816, aide to Gen. Washington, later Secretary of War.

recollect, — the servants, Horses, Baggage &c. was soon over when, we formed ourselves in line of march and Moved slowly on until we arrived at Mrs Carrols <sup>7</sup> where we had been invited by a messenger who met us on the road for that purpose — Observing the house to be much crowded the Gentlemen proposed we should go into town and return in the evening to accompany Mrs W— to Doc<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup> H— as she had promised to take tea and spend the evening with Mrs M<sup>c</sup> H—, Mrs Carrol expecting Mrs W— had made considerable preparation, — we found a large bowl of salubrious ice punch with fruits &c. which had been plucked from the trees in a green House, lying on the tables in great abundance; — these after riding 25 or 30 miles without eating or drinking was no unwelcome luxury, however, Mrs C— could not complain that we had not done her punch honor, for in the course of 1 Quarter of an hour (the time we tarried) this bowl which held upwards of two Gallons was entirely consumed to the no little satisfaction of us all. —

We then made our congee and departed, — the Gentlemen to their respective homes, — myself with Doc<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup> H— who invited me very politely to take a family dinner with him, — Mrs M<sup>c</sup> H was at dinner when we arrived, — the fare was homely and yet agreeable; — enlivened by the conversation of Mrs M<sup>c</sup> H who was handsome and sensible withal, — The Doc<sup>r</sup> made so many apologies for the scantiness of the dinner that it was quite tiresome and disagreeable, — and I as many times requested that he would say nothing about it; — for it was what I admired, — and complimented Mrs M<sup>c</sup> H—y on her economy, — on her telling me, that it was a rule with her whenever they were without company never to have more than 3 dishes at table, the one of meat, and the residue in vegetables. — The Doc<sup>r</sup> kept me so long at table after dinner that I had not time to clean myself, it being near 5 o'clock; — I took my leave repaired to Grants tavern <sup>8</sup> and found that Col<sup>o</sup> V. H— had left that an hour or two with the carriage to bring the ladies to town. I then made all the expedition I was master of to be in readiness to receive the Ladies, — & happily accomplished it by a few minutes only; — for I had scarcely got to the Doc<sup>trs</sup> again before the carriages (Mrs W— and Mrs C—,) drove up to the door, — when Mrs W—n immediately retired into a private room to dress. Col<sup>o</sup> B—d proposed to walk with me and show the town, — in the first place; — I recollected that Mr Sydnor lived here, and immediately made enquiry whereabouts, — as we had once been very intimate, — I was glad of an opportunity to show that I had not lost sight of our former acquaintance; — he received me in a very friendly and cordial manner, and as usual, made the natural interrogations with respect to the people of Frederick<sup>s</sup>, first inq<sup>d</sup> after his acquaintances: — I spent an half hour with him, then accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Ballard returned to the Doc<sup>r</sup> where a number of Ladies had assembled to pay their respects to Mrs Washington, the names of which are too numerous to insert, let

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Charles Carroll, nee Margaretta Tilghman, of Mount Clare.

<sup>8</sup> Grant' Tavern—Fountain Inn.

it suffice, that they were the handsomest assortment of women that I had even seen. — I attached myself entirely to a Miss Spear who was remarkably talkative and seemed to be pretty well acquainted with my friend Robt Mercer, which afforded considerable fund of conversation: — The evening concluded with an elegant entertainment and fire works, which were judiciously managed by a Brother of Doctr M<sup>e</sup> H. The company did not retire untill after eleven o'clock, — I saw Miss Spear home who appeared to be much pleased with my attentions, — and insisted that I would never go through Baltimore without calling on her, — she intreated me to come in, but it being late; and a young gentleman in company with me, I though it prudent to return with him — otherwise I might have lost myself — Miss Spear, was extremely pressing — but as I felt better disposed for sleep than any other kind of amusement — so made my bow & departed; not without first promising that, if it rained the next day (which looked a good deal like it) that I would spend the day with her. — I then made hast back to the Doc<sup>rs</sup> expecting to be locked out — but was mistaken, for I found the Doctr seated at Table with some of the Gentlemen drinking wine; — I was requested to take a chair and join them, — but excused myself by saying it was late, — and that I should have to rise early in the morning. — so begged that I might be indulged to go to bed, — this broke up the company — and I was conducted to a room neatly furnished, — sleep was foreign from eyes. — The hurry and bustle that I had been in all day and the variety which I had seen, gave sufficient scope to my immagination — to sleep was imposible, these agreeable reflections was interrupted: — for we were serenaded untill two oclock in the morning — when I fell a sleep — and was waked by the clock striking five which was the hour we proposed leaving town to avoid any parade that might be intended. — May 20<sup>th</sup> 1789 —

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

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*The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia*  
by WALCOMB E. WASHBURN. [Williamsburg, Institute of Early  
American History and Culture.] (University of North Carolina  
Press, Chapel Hill, 1957, 279).

Colonial governors can expect little from history. In this respect Sir William Berkeley was particularly unfortunate. It is true that he preceded the War of the Revolution by a century and avoided the fate of Lord Dunmore; but a series of circumstances conspired to portray him to a democratic posterity as oppressive and tyrannical. First, he returned to Virginia after the Restoration as the "Darling of the People," but the people had been infected meanwhile with the virus of Cromwellian independence. Second, he is remembered for saying, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing . . ."; and neither he nor Virginia has lived this down. And, third, in the year 1676, one Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., started a rebellion, which was later identified as a democratic stirring, and a precursor of the great War for Independence.

In *The Governor and the Rebel*, Professor Washburn has attempted to show that Bacon's Rebellion was not inspired by the desire for democratic reforms, and that Berkeley was not an oppressive governor. The first he has done conclusively; and, because he has detracted so enormously from Bacon's reputation, he has added appreciably to Berkeley's.

After investigating all the hitherto known sources on the subject, Professor Washburn discovered at Longleat, the estate of the Marquis of Bath, the papers of Henry Coventry, Secretary of State for the colonies from 1674 to 1680. These records contributed evidence in favor of his theory; and his reinterpretation of the whole body of facts makes Bacon out to be something other than the "Torchbearer of the Revolution." The cause of the rebellion was not the desire for political reform, but one of the great, hard, unseemly facts of American history—the aggressive frontiersman's conflict with the Indian. Berkeley held an enlightened policy in Indian affairs: he sought to protect the friendly, subject tribes—the Pamunkey, the Appomattox, and the Chickahominy—who held their land as a grant from the colony; and at the same time to protect the westernmost colonists from the warlike tribes. An unfortunate skirmish between a party of Virginians and a party of Doegs from Maryland ignited the ever-smoldering Indian wars. The tinder was unusually dry because of the winds blowing from New England, where King Philip's



war had broken out. Bacon exploited the greed and fear of the frontiersmen by tormenting the friendly Indians into being unfriendly and by making Berkeley's policy appear unfavorable to the colonists. In June 1676 he successfully besieged the Assembly sitting at Jamestown.

Now it was the political reforms of this June Assembly that gave Bacon his reputation. Although many of these acts can be construed as real reforms, for example, the one enabling all freemen, not just property holders, to vote for the burgesses, Professor Washburn has shown that Bacon had no real interest in them; he was merely using the Indian troubles to get a commission for himself and, if possible, control of the colony. What Professor Washburn does not mention, however, is that although Bacon had no interest in political reform, the Governor, the council, and the burgesses might have been influenced by the threat of Bacon into enacting some of the laws of 1676.

The rebellion was of short duration; Bacon died rather suddenly on October 26, 1676. However, it was not without dramatic incidents. In the shifting of the populace from Berkeley to Bacon and back, Berkeley lost, gained, and lost again the capital. While besieging the city, Bacon captured the wives of the loyalist leaders, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., (his cousin), James Bray, Thomas Ballard, and John Page, and placed them on the ramparts while he dug his fortifications. He captured the city on September 19; and on the same date the ancient spectacle of terror in war, a city burning in the night, appeared on the James.

After Bacon's death Berkeley, who had retreated to Accomack, soon regained control. However, by this time the King was alarmed by the reports he was receiving from Virginia, and he sent out a royal commission to investigate. The commissioners, eager to justify their mission, collected the grievances of the people. Of these there were many, particularly from those who had sympathized with Bacon, but what is astonishing about the grievances presented to the commissioners is that there are almost no charges of graft, corruption, favoritism, or misgovernment against Governor Berkeley or even against those closely associated with him.

Colonel Jeffreys, one of the commissioners, proclaimed himself Governor on April 27, 1677, and Berkeley returned to England in June. Before he could see his King, he died; and his death was attributed by some to heartbreak over a remark allegedly made by Charles II: "That old fool [Berkeley] has hanged more men in that naked country, than I did for the murder of my father."

*The Governor and the Rebel* is distinguished by three characteristics: (1) it is thoroughly and soundly documented; (2) it adheres closely to a single thesis; and (3) it attempts to redress the balance in a prejudice of long standing, that against all loyalists. In fact, it offers a new insight into colonial history:

It was not in Bacon's Rebellion that resistance to autocratic government was born, but in the post-rebellion fight of the loyalists against the arbitrary injustice of the King's commissioners and governors. The upholders of

Virginia's political liberties fought for those rights against Bacon, against Jeffreys, against Culpeper, against Effingham, and against succeeding governors.

However, one should not expect to find in the book much related detail, or social and economic history of the period. Even much of the material relating to the Rebellion is given scant treatment, presumably because it is erroneous or because it contributes little to the author's thesis. A truly definitive study might include the local legends, the color and tang of the day by day events in their homely setting. This lack should not obscure the fact that *The Governor and the Rebel* is an excellent book, all the more so, perhaps, because the author has not strayed from his main theme. Austerity, in this instance, has added brilliance.

JOHN WALTON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Slavery in Tennessee.* By CHARLES MOONEY. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. xii, 250, \$4.50.)

There is still a great need for detailed studies of the Negro in the ante-bellum South before our knowledge of slavery will be complete. Making use of the unpublished census reports of 1850 and 1860, Mr. Mooney throws some new light on the relationship between slavery and agriculture in Tennessee.

The first part of the book consists of a broad description of slavery in the Volunteer State. The initial chapter competently summarizes the legal status of the Negro, but the succeeding chapter fails to establish a satisfactory discussion of the hiring, selling, and running away of slaves. More information should be available concerning the extent of the practice of hiring Negroes and the uses made of them. For example, were such laborers particularly important in industry (such as the iron industry) and in the construction of roads, canals, and railroads? In other Southern states hired slaves underwent greater hardships than did the Negroes who remained on their masters' farms. Was this also true in Tennessee? Concerning runaway Negroes, additional research might explain the reasons for running away, the dangers and difficulty of flight, and the punishments for fleeing. The fourth chapter also falls short of presenting a full treatment of slave life. Much more information can probably be found concerning the clothing, feeding, disciplining, and use of slaves in Tennessee. Of fifty footnotes for the chapter only nine indicate the investigation of manuscript sources. Moreover, in this chapter the author appears to be more anxious to defend slavery in Tennessee than to give a comprehensive and objective study of it.

The statistical relationship between landholding and slavery is investigated very thoroughly in the latter half of this book. By using the unpub-

lished census returns of 1850 and 1860, the author shows that, at least numerically, the small landowners (slave-owning and non-slave owning) were dominant in Tennessee. This is the most important contribution that the monograph makes. Was the planter group as insignificant as the author suggests, however? In the last chapter several Tennessee planters are discussed, but almost nothing is said about their social and political influence. As a result, we learn little of the planters' impact on local, state, and national politics. Until we know more about the preceding, we will not have a complete understanding of the relationship between agriculture and slavery in the Volunteer State.

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

*Fort McHenry National Monument  
National Park Service*

*Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526-1783.* By HAROLD L. PETERSON. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Stackpole Company. 350, 318 plates, \$12.50).

For twenty years archeologists, historians, and some museum men have talked about procedures that might elevate historic objects to recognized, dignified status as sources of history. In the eyes of this reviewer Mr. Peterson's book is the best evidence so far presented that the many conferences, debates, and published admonitions regarding the endeavor have born fruit. This encyclopedic work establishes in its particular realm the datum and guide upon which field investigators, writers, educators, museum curators, and antiquarians may interpolate their own studies and plans. At the same time, it gives to the average reader refreshing insights into Colonial history and affords a delightful source of recreation and hobby-reading of top grade. It is, in fact, a unique volume of worth to professional and layman alike.

As the title suggests, guns, edged weapons, and the protective devices worn by warriors are involved in the study. It places the 250-year history of Colonial firearms (other than cannon) in clear perspective and it gives definition to the mechanical aspects of the arms themselves. There are eleven pen-and-ink diagrams of gunlock mechanisms, for example, which will be appreciated by collectors and seized upon by those who dig rusted gun fragments from the soil. Here are the handiest descriptions of criteria organized for period and all spelled out. Also, the historian-archeologist will be delighted with the photographs of specimens excavated at famous sites of known period. Of these photographs twelve represent gun parts, six show edged weapons, and eight show armor.

A notable number (fortynine) of the illustrations represent arms owned by the author. Among the 318 plates a nice distribution has been made between drawings and photographs. Generally, reproduction of the pictures (all black-and-white) is superlative. There are seventeen well-chosen etchings or wood-cuts from ancient sources and eleven pen-and-ink draw-

ings of historic military personnel supplied by the Company of Military Collectors and Historians. These are highly successful in bringing to life the stories of certain French, Spanish, English, and American units of the 17th and 18th centuries. I doubt that an artist in pen-and-ink can express more action and realism than has Harry C. Larter, Jr., in his drawing of the wind-blown French fusiliers in 17th Century Canada. (p. 47).

Maryland troops and Maryland muskets, rifles, hand mortars, "granadoes," and bayonets (among the first in America—1694) find place in Mr. Peterson's pictures and accounts. Even the little-known Maryland punch-mark is illustrated. *Narratives of Early Maryland, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Journal and Correspondence of the Council, and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland* are among the sources used.

The bibliography as a whole is impressive and useful. It is rich in little-known but highly important items of early date. Footnotes appear at the chapter ends and are about as practical as can be devised. The large format and high grade of paper make for presentation of large, clear illustrations and attractive composition. All told, the book represents a superior job of manufacturing and a prize-winning accomplishment by the author. It is such a reference work as will win plaudits for all time to come—and, I dare say, it helps to light the way in according to historic objects a proper place among the sources of history.

CARL P. RUSSELL

*Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820-1914.* By CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1957, 332, \$4.00.)

With the figure of Samuel Gompers as a towering reminder, the fact of British influence in the American labor movement has not escaped close students of American history, and may even have registered with those no closer than the back rows of college survey courses. But to sum it all up in a catch phrase—"Gompers, British influence; British influence, Gompers"—is to fall well short of the whole truth. Now that social and economic history have come into their own, now that world events have outmoded the blinders of national history, it is time for the whole truth to be told. And it is fitting that the closest approximation to the whole truth we are ever likely to have should come from the Johns Hopkins Studies, which began in 1883 with a resounding affirmation of our debt to the political institutions of the Old World.

*Britons in American Labor* is a thoughtful and impressively thorough study of a major influence in American labor during a crucial century. Dr. Yearley points out scrupulously at the start, in a penetrating sketch

of the general setting, that British influence did not create the American labor movement, nor did it alone set the movement's course; and his warning is warranted, for with its profusion of instances, the book might otherwise unintentionally persuade the reader that British influence was everything. As it stands, the book shows that influence to have been pervasive and enduring, the result not of one man's chance bias but of a manifold and long-continuing process.

Antebellum British immigrants, many of them graduates of Chartism, began the process as propagandists, agitators, organizers and leaders. Events—and men's ideas of events—during the Civil War laid a "basis for understanding" and mutual regard between American and British labor. In the next generation or two came many efforts, unsuccessful but not unrewarding, to achieve direct transatlantic affiliation, notably among seamen and dock workers. Meanwhile, and more lastingly important, British immigrants carried on the pre-war tradition with still greater scope and effectiveness, fortified by the hard-learned lessons of British unionism. A parade of colorful and vigorous leaders passes by—Richard Trevellick, Thomas Morgan, John Hinchcliffe, Alexander MacDonald, John Siney and many others. They are not double-timed; we have a good look at each one, and we come away with a strong impression of idealism staunch enough to survive cruel years of child labor in British factories, of steadiness and tenacity under the buffeting of fortune, and of a stubborn British aversion to violence and extremism. Some of these remarkable men were absorbed in the organization and leadership of trade unions—miners, metalworkers, textile workers and others. Some, like John Samuel and Thomas Phillips, went on also to crusade for co-operative systems of production and distribution, thereby influencing the Grangers as well as labor. All of them were aided by the "great example" of the continuing British labor movement, reinforced by a stream of visitors to and from England and by the labor press of both countries.

As British immigration slackened, as economic conditions in the two nations diverged, and as American labor grew up and learned to stand on its own feet, British influence waned. By the start of the new century, it had become relatively negligible. Nevertheless its legacy was permanent, a legacy of moderation, of peaceable striving for concrete gains, of "common sense" unionism, of democratic action. British influence explains much of what American unionism is today.

In unearthing this complex story, Dr. Yearley has left no stone unturned. Government documents, newspapers, periodicals, manuscript collections, and a rich variety of secondary sources have evidently been ransacked. To be sure, Peter Arthur was not "the founder" of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (p. 86), but this fact does not affect the particular point involved, and in any case such slips are well below the normal incidence of human error. If one must register a complaint (and perhaps one must, if only to keep up the franchise), it is that the quantity of detail occasionally becomes overwhelming. There are passages in which one or two quotes might have served as well as half a dozen for illustration. But

since the study is meant to inform rather than amuse, the error is on the safe side. And anyway, the fluency and precision of Dr. Yearley's style rescues his book from the pitfall of pedantry.

All in all, *Britons in American Labor* stands as a study long needed and now carried through with ability and finality.

ROBERT V. BRUCE

*Boston University*

*The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume V, 1867-1870.* Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT. (Columbus: University of South Carolina Press, 1956. xxiii, 571, \$8.50).

The publication of the fifth volume of the letters of William Gilmore Simms successfully completes the record of a vigorous and voluminous correspondence which extended through forty years. The appearance of each volume has fully justified the prediction which greeted the first, that in the future these letters would be indispensable to historians of the literary and cultural history of the South. The final volume spans the years from 1867 until Simms' death in 1870, and includes letters which the editors have discovered since the first volume appeared. Mr. Eaves has prepared an excellent index to all five volumes as well as a comprehensive index of Simms' works.

For Marylanders these letters are particularly interesting for the light they shed on Simms' relations with the Baltimore novelist and statesman, John Pendleton Kennedy. Simms' friendship with Kennedy is often pointed to as evidence of Kennedy's close ties with the South, ties he severed with the coming of the Civil War. Yet these letters reveal how far Kennedy was removed from the extreme southern partisanship of Simms. The letters suggest a formal and rather fitful acquaintanceship that merely ceased with the coming of the war.

The two men were temperamentally unsuited for intimate friendship. Kennedy was more congenial with men like Thackeray and Irving, for among them a good deal of raillery eased the tension which might strain the relationships between gifted men. Simms, on the other hand, resembled Cooper in his positive manner and his readiness to suspect an affront. His open and hearty manner was checked by Kennedy's habitual reserve.

At the close of hostilities, Kennedy traveled south and Simms, true to the finest tradition of the code he had followed to its defeat, greeted him gallantly and cordially. And Simms' last letter to Kennedy was a request for a photograph and suggests that any estrangement owing to the war was forgotten: "I am making a collection of my friends' heads—i. e. where they have anything in them—for an album, which I design to keep for my children; taking for granted that they will learn to estimate & study the aspects of those whom I have known equally head and heart."

CHARLES H. BOHNER

*University of Delaware*

*The Witness of William Penn*, edited with an introduction by FREDERICK B. TOLLES and E. GORDON ALDERFER. (New York: Macmillan, 1957. xxx, 205, \$3. 75).

Had William Penn been the founder only of Pennsylvania, the present volume might have a different title. He was also a principal founder of the American branch of the Society of Friends and one of the chief organizers among Quakers abroad. *The Witness of William Penn* thus becomes appropriate to describe this anthology of carefully selected passages from a dozen of the ninety or a hundred tracts and pamphlets written by William Penn. The editors have taken considerable trouble to clarify and elucidate the text and the meaning of their selections; they have also prepared introductory and explanatory passages to reset Penn's words in the contemporary political scene and to present them in relation to the events of his life. The result is a fine distillation into one hundred and seventy-five pages, more or less, from writings previously edited in from two to five volumes. Prepared for the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania, this book provides for today's reader an adequate fund of testimony about a man whose work was finished so long before the days of 1776 that it is easy to forget that he was in certain respects the supreme model of a Founding Father.

This service to our own generation of readers is especially useful because Penn's writings are not readily accessible in the kind of definitive edition we have gotten into the habit of looking for when we want something from the works of the foremost names in American history. What Messrs. Tolles and Alderfer have done is but a short step in the direction of such a definitive treatment of the vast bulk of Penn's writings, but it has been done in a manner which will lead some readers to go in search of connecting passages and complete texts. Some of Penn's writings have been widely known, others are virtually unavailable even in good libraries; no exhaustive edition has appeared since 1825. Penn has been known generally more by what others have had to say about him and his writings, less by what he had to say himself.

For two reasons it is important to have direct access to Penn's own writings, even such limited access as in this book. First, the years in which he lived were filled with controversial issues touching politics and religion, the two areas in which he was most active and also the two areas most susceptible to error and misinterpretation in the hands of historians, critics and commentators. Penn's symbolic position in American history, typified by the statue on Philadelphia's City Hall tower and the idealized painting of the Treaty of Shackamaxon, inspires in many a didactic and uncritical patriotic admiration. His exalted place in the history of the Society of Friends makes him seem, for a few, just a little lower than the angels. These extremes tend to remove from reality our grasp of a man who knew at first hand more different phases of the troubled times in which he lived than did most of his contemporaries, one who did not hesitate to pour out what he observed, what he felt and thought about all manner of things.

The second reason that we should be grateful for even a small serving of Penn's own writings in a well-appointed, modern volume is that he was an eloquent and imaginative writer who frequently expressed himself with force and clarity about his convictions and his observations. The quantity of his literary output and the conditions under which he was often forced to write would have made it difficult for anyone with less genius to rise above the level of mediocre journalist. While passages dealing with matters of faith are occasionally cloudy rather than mystic, William Penn knew how to use the ponderous prose style of a great age of English writing. He did not force himself into such literary company as Milton and Dryden, but in his soul-searching, in his reports on his trials, on the natives of Pennsylvania and on how to establish government among men or among nations, it is evident that he used a language removed by less than a century from "the spacious days of great Elizabeth," close in time and in spirit to the power and strength of the King James version of the scriptures.

FRANK N. JONES

*Peabody Institute*

*The Richardsons of Delaware, with a Brief History of the Richardson Park Suburban Area*, by C. A. WESLAGER. Illustrated by Walter Stewart. (Wilmington, Delaware: Knebels Press, 1957. 195, \$5.00).

This is a very good book by the well known author of studies in Delaware history and archaeology, and fully measures up to the high standard he has already long since set. The illustrations, mostly pictures of old houses and vanished or vanishing scenes, are excellent. One misses, without much regret, the photographs of relatives and ancestors of the family which one usually meets with in a genealogy, with their often forbidding, or else pathetic, countenances. On the other hand, many interesting things are related about these Richardsons, more especially in the chapter devoted to Hannah Richardson, the botanist. We are given the background of the land on which the Richardsons lived and died, from its beginnings as patented tracts to the present. To quote the author: "The last remnant of Richardson property was sold in 1926." The family settled in that immediate neighborhood in 1687. One is reminded of the Merryman family of Baltimore County, which took up "Merryman's Lot" in 1688 (now in Baltimore City). In or about 1930 a Merryman sold the "last remnant" to a company which erected thereon No. 101 University Parkway. In explaining his motive for writing this work Mr. Weslager says: "In recent years, Wilmington's Suburban communities have grown by leaps and bounds, and the author feels that too little attention has been given to their rich historical backgrounds." This must be only too true, not only of Wilmington, but of all the other Eastern American cities, whose suburbs are growing "by leaps and bounds" at the expense of the lovely and historical countryside.

WILLIAM B. MARYE



*Bibliography of Pennsylvania History*. Second edition of *Writings on Pennsylvania History, a Bibliography*. Edited by S. K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT. Wilkinson, Norman B., compiler. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1957. xxx, 826, \$7).

Few states of the Union have anything approaching thorough and comprehensive bibliographical guides to all that has been written about them. Material about Pennsylvania has been accumulating for two and three-quarter centuries. Fifty years ago, an effort was launched to secure systematic bibliographical coverage of the field. Roughly contemporaneous with the establishment of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania History Club engaged the attention of some of the best men in the field and set out to provide a bibliographical record of the state, but its publication program ended with volume one, 1909, containing a list of members and a declaration of good intentions.

The present volume is a comprehensive, classified list of more than nine thousand books, articles and guides. Its aim is to include all secondary materials through 1952. The list occupies 709 pages and is followed by a general index to authors, subjects and places, filling 115 two-column pages. A few "see" and "see also" references supplement the index entries, and one or two cross-references are scattered through the classified list. For the most part, one is dependent upon the classification, which is fully outlined in the contents. Barring the general charge that no subject breakdown of a broad subject is ever completely satisfactory to all persons, the scheme adopted probably serves its purpose as well as any other that might have been devised for this amount of material.

The scheme and general arrangement of the book have not been hastily thrown together without careful study. The *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History* is, in fact, the second edition of *Writings on Pennsylvania History*, 1946, which listed more than sixty-one hundred items published before the close of 1942. Dr. Norman B. Wilkinson who compiled the new *Bibliography* was one of the group that assisted Dr. Aruthr C. Bining in the compilation of the *Writings*. The plan and scope of the new work are somewhat expanded but basically identical with the older volume. Minor changes have been made in the headings used to break down the four general sections into which the list is divided and to sub-divide them according to historical periods. The three thousand added entries in the *Bibliography* are largely works dating within the period from 1943 through 1952; some older items not included in the first list are also to be found but the editors have not marked them specifically. "Pennsylvania in World War II" is about the only unit in the list that could be considered entirely new.

Much of the material cited is in files of local historical society bulletins of which Pennsylvania has a goodly number; the list would be worth a great deal even if it were limited to this one source since many such publications are not consistently represented in other bibliographical guides.

A page and one-half are devoted to analyzing the Pennsylvania Archives. To this reviewer, it seems a pity that no effort was made to include state, county and city atlases of which Pennsylvania has quite an array. Possibly these are not looked upon by the editors as secondary materials within their definition. Many issued during the latter half of the nineteenth century contain useful if ephemeral material of great variety beyond that which is strictly geographical and cartographical. Mrs. LeGear's *United States Atlases*, Washington, 1950, lists one hundred and seventy-seven for Pennsylvania and its counties and cities.

The *Bibliography* is a better-printed and more attractive volume than the earlier *Writings*, but its binding may not survive extensive handling such as a book of this sort might get in an active reference collection. The use of varied type sizes and of bold face for sub-heads and for authors' names makes the pages of the *Bibliography* easy to scan. Serial numbers which key the index are likewise in bold face with each entry and assist the eye.

FRANK N. JONES

Peabody Institute

*A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society.* By FRED SHELLEY. [Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, XI.] (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1957, unpub., \$2.50).

It is always a pleasure to welcome the publication of a finding aid to manuscript collections. Compiled by the Society's Librarian (Mr. Shelley previously served as the Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society between 1950 and 1955), this is the first comprehensive *Guide* to the collections although the Society has published descriptions previously. The collections, numbering in excess of 75,000 pieces except the archives of the Society and the Newark Library Association, are contained in 337 manuscript groups.

In brief, the *Guide* lists the name of each collection, its inclusive years, quantity, source and date of the acquisition, restrictions upon the use of the collection, whether or not published, and the availability of a detailed index. The New Jersey Historical Society is to be congratulated for making this pamphlet available. Its publication provides an invaluable aid both to the scholar and staff member alike. One can only comment that the descriptions of each collection are of necessity brief. Also, it would have been helpful to have listed the material alphabetically or by type. But these criticisms are not meant to detract from an important compilation.

The appearance of this pamphlet points out the need for a comparable volume which covers the manuscripts collection of the Maryland Historical Society. Much of the preliminary work has already been completed, but much yet remains to be done.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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Richard Walsh succeeds Frank Haber as editor of the *Magazine*. After several years of devoted service to the *Magazine* and library, Dr. Haber accepted the position of assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Florida. Richard Walsh is assistant professor of history in the college and graduate school of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., author of several articles on American colonial and revolutionary history. He is now preparing the writings of Christopher Gadsden for publication by the South Carolina Historical Society, and he is also historian—consultant for the restoration of Fort McHenry being conducted by the National Park Service.

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From the original in The Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.  
Transcribed by George H. S. King, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

May 11, 1644

Whereas it concerns the good of the Colony that every particular man's estate be preserved from ruine; and whereas the Lord Proprietor's brother Leon: Calvert Esq<sup>r</sup> late Governor of this place hath an estate in the colony now dispersed and unregarded by means of the death of his late attorney Peter Draper. These are to will and require you to make search and inquiry after all the debts goods and chattels of the state of the said Leonard and as neare as you shall be able to make a perfect inventory of them and in whose hands they be and the said inventory to bring to the Secretary to be recorded, and in case of any of them shall be found in unsecured hands or likely to perish to take the best and most convenient care you can for their preservation and safety. And for the better unabling of you to find out where any of the said estate shall be you are hereby further authorized to administer an oath to any party concerning the same for all which this shall be your warrant.

Giles Brent

To the Sheriff  
Edward Parker

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*Plant-Stewart-Hay*—Information is wanted on the parentage and issue of John Plant who served in the 1st Md. Regt. of the Revolution. He married Mary Ann Davis on June 15, 1788, in Charles County, Md.; had

a sister whose married name was Stewart; a daughter whose married name was Hay, and a son Nathaniel who was a resident of the District of Columbia, 1840-60.

MICHAEL L. PLANT,  
11804 Valleywood Drive, Wheaton, Md.

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*Hewitt*—Information is sought about the Bibles belonging to the Hewitt, Chiverall and Booth families of St. Mary's County, Maryland. Also names of parents of John Hewitt and Clarissa (Booth) Hewitt, married in St. Mary's County, Md., on January 19, 1811. Also parents of Ann Elizabeth (Chiveral) Hewitt born September 10, 1834, and married to Joshua Soul Hewitt May 27, 1852, in St. Mary's County. Also parents of George Hush and Elizabeth (Connelly) Hush, married October 25, 1821, at Baltimore, Md. Also name of wife of Vincent Hughes of Baltimore in 1825.

VINCENT J. HUGHES,  
4402 Raspe Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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CARL BRENT SWISHER is professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University and author of several books in American constitutional history, among these *American Constitutional Development*, 2nd edition, 1954.

CHARLES BRANCH CLARK is a native of Howard County, Md., author of *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*. He is presently teaching at Monmouth College of New Jersey.

MRS. FRANCIS F. BEIRNE is a member of the Maryland Historical Society Council and vice regent for Maryland of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE is director of the War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, co-author of *My Maryland* and editor of the series *Maryland in World War II*.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## *Report for 1957*

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### REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

**L**ONG-LAID plans of the Society for a conference of the various historical societies throughout the State culminated on June 15 in the first annual state-wide conference of historical societies. With morning, luncheon and afternoon sessions at which all but two or three societies were represented, the group heard several constructive talks and exchanged ideas in regard to building of membership, fund-raising, improvement of exhibitions and keeping of records. The principal address was given by Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, who provided a stimulating view of historical activities.

Many important gifts came to the Society, both for the library and the museum, as reported by the chairmen of the respective committees. The bequest of A. Morris Tyson gives the Society the major share of his considerable estate. About \$120,000, of which \$60,000 was received in 1957, will be added to our endowment fund. The Society also learned that under the will of Richard Bennett Darnall, after certain deductions, and subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, one-half of his estate will come to the Society. The fund will be used to establish and endow a children's museum of Maryland history, enabling the Society to fill a long-felt need in providing suitable instructive material for school classes. The Society was also generously remembered by the will of Harry C. Black, who left his valuable property in Florida to pass eventually to the Society. Mrs. Black has relinquished her interest in the property, the sale of which will result in a considerable increase in our endowment funds.

Owing to the increase in dues which went into effect January 1, 1957, the Society enjoyed a total income of \$80,373.00 as compared with \$67,285.00 in 1956. Plans for expansion, which have long been under consideration, were furthered by the purchase in August of the two lots, 614 and 616 Park Avenue, constituting the parking lot across the alley from the Society on the south, with a view eventually to building a suitable auditorium, maritime museum, and rooms for work and other display. The property is under long-term lease at a satisfactory income and affords not only room for growth but important protection from undesirable encroachment.

The Society sponsored the first picture history of Baltimore to be published. The book, underwritten by Hutzler Brothers Co. in token of its 100th anniversary, contains text by Mr. Francis F. Beirne and pictures

selected with the help of the Society's staff from our own collections and from a score or more other such agencies.

A heavy loss to the Society was the death on August 24 of J. Hall Pleasants, M. D., who had been vice president since 1935. As editor of the *Archives* for 16 years, contributor of many articles to our *Magazine* and other historical publications, and author of numerous monographs, Dr. Pleasants was recognized as an authority not only on the general history of Maryland but also on American silver and painting. He had been in close association with the Society for more than 40 years and for an equal length of time a coworker with your president in furthering the proper interests of the Society. He always gave freely of his broad knowledge and experience and his sound judgment was a tremendous aid to the Society. I cannot speak of his fine service to the Society without recording also my personal distress at the loss his associates have felt in his death. My long and very warm friendship with Dr. Pleasants began when he and I were students together at Johns Hopkins.

We still have serious problems to solve, but during the past year we have made great progress in all of the fields of our activities.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*.

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### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The year was marked by various staff changes: the retirement of Miss Florence J. Kennedy, which is elsewhere recorded, the employment of Mrs. Virginia Swarn as registrar of the museum and gallery, and the resignation of Miss Jessie M. Slee as a volunteer library worker. Mrs. Catherine A. Lau entered our employ as housekeeper.

Redecoration and installation of furniture, pictures and objects in the third-floor bedroom and the Confederate Room marked continuation of the program designed to freshen exhibitions and awaken new interest in our collections. Major acquisitions of the year were the portraits by John Hesselius of Governor and Mrs. Thomas Johnson, and of Mrs. Elijah Etting, by Charles Peale Polk; the original watercolors of Baltimore clippers by W. J. Huggins; "The Battle of Pultowa" in ink and wash by Maxibilian Godefroy; an aquatint view of Baltimore, 1752; French and American silver of the Malter family and papers relating to the Stone family of Charles County. The number of lots accessioned by the gallery and museum was 100, and 420 by the library.

The Society continues on short rations. The demands upon it for information, loans and research are increasing. It is no exaggeration to say that every member of the staff finds the effort to comply even to a reasonable degree with needs of the community, a test of resourcefulness and diplomacy. There is little time for organizing material as received and for taking part in programs in which the Society should participate.

During the year the Society received 14,121 visitors, including school

tours and attendance at meetings. The Library assisted authors of more than 20 books and a host of articles. Speakers on the Society's work or on general historical topics have been provided for many outside meetings. Picture material has been supplied to many publishers. There have been numerous loans of objects to schools, clubs, and department stores, and on countless occasions assistance has been given to TV and radio stations, newspapers and periodicals, both national and local.

The death of Dr. Pleasants has deprived the Society of the knowledge, experience and interest of one of its best-informed officers. Almost every phase of the Society's work has profited by his zeal; and his long and intimate association has brought acquisitions of great consequence both for the gallery and the library. His unstinting research in many fields and his sound judgment contributed to the esteem in which the Society is held. To the writer, the loss of his broad knowledge, his generosity in sharing it, and his friendship is irreparable.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director.*

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

The Committee strove to maintain the goal of strict financial management as outlined in our report last year. These include holding expenditures within the available income, managing the investments in our endowment with prudence and at the same time seeking reasonable growth of principal and income. The first year of increased dues, from \$5 to \$8 minimum, resulted in a substantial gain in revenue from this source, namely \$27,313.00 as against \$17,072.50 for 1956. There was also an increase in contributions. Net income for the year amounted to \$80,373.00 as compared with \$67,285.00 for 1956. The Treasurer's report shows that we ended the year with a balance of \$3,439.00.

The bequest of the residuary estate of A. Morris Tyson is expected to amount to \$120,000, of which \$41,920.79 was received during the year and added to the endowment fund. It was also learned that under the will of the late Richard Bennett Darnall, one-half of his considerable estate, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, was left to the Society to establish and maintain a young people's museum of Maryland history.

JACOB FRANCE, *Chairman.*

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#### REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The acquisition of the two parking lots, Nos. 614 and 616 Park Ave., immediately to the south of our building and across a narrow alley, brought the Society a sound income-producing property and will permit expansion at the proper time. No. 614, having a frontage of 73 feet and a depth of 196 feet, was acquired from the Johns Hopkins University. The other

lot has a 25-foot frontage and a depth of 175 feet. Together these properties are yielding a return of more than 4 percent on the investment.

No major improvements were required during the year. The Confederate Room and the bedroom, both on the third floor, and the lower hall and registrar's office on the ground floor of the modern building were all redecorated during the summer.

All the properties are in generally good condition. A piece of equipment for the Scott house, 213 West Monument Street, was the only considerable purchase.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman.*

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#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Numerous and valuable gifts continued to come to the Society during the year. A portrait of Mrs. Elijah Etting, by Charles Peale Polk, was acquired through the generosity of the Louis and Henrietta Blaustein Foundation, Inc. Likenesses of Ross Winans and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas DeKay Winans were presented by Miss Elsie W. Hutton. Other portraits of interest were oils of Mr. and Mrs. John Butler from Mr. Edward A. Stabler and of Mrs. George Murray Gill, together with pencil drawings of Mr. and Mrs. John Gill, from the estate of Mrs. Herbert M. Brune; miniatures of Captain Michael Browne Carroll, from Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall, and of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Berret, from Mrs. George J. Parke. A Staffordshire "States Platter," was the gift of Mrs. Thomas Barrett in memory of her nephew, Ensign Edwin Nash Broyles, Jr., U. S. N. R. A large ink and wash drawing, "The Battle of Pultowa," by Maximilian Godefroy, was presented by Mr. John G. Jackson, Jr. A collection of 43 pieces of flat silver, largely of French origin, was presented by Mrs. Henry Zoller, Jr.; six Kirk silver serving spoons and a gold-headed cane from the Pennington family by Mrs. Summerfield Baldwin; a silver teapot and salver by Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall; a tall case clock, together with a fine copy of the Moale View of Baltimore, 1752, by Mr. F. Eugene Sloan; and a rapier used by Governor Thomas Johnson, by Mrs. Bessy J. C. Frey.

Portraits of Governor and Mrs. Thomas Johnson, by John Hesselius, were acquired from Mrs. Frey from a fund left by Miss Josephine C. Morris. These pictures had been on deposit with the Society since 1927. A miniature of Ann Jane Edmondson was also purchased by the Society.

Valuable additions to the Maritime Collection were two watercolors by the famous English artist, W. J. Huggins, representing Baltimore clippers of 1815-1825.

The Society announced the bequest of one-half of the estate of Richard Bennett Darnall, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, and after certain deductions, to be used to establish and maintain a museum of Maryland history for young people. Under this handsome provision the



Society will be able to encourage interest in American history and particularly the history of Maryland in this important group.

Principal exhibitions during the year included Staffordshire china; "Bon Voyage" (luggage of bygone days); paintings of the late Clark S. Marshall, the Bicentennial of Lafayette's birth, paintings and drawings by Maximilian Godefroy, and the Christmas showing of dolls, doll houses and toys.

Following the redecoration of the third floor bedroom and the Confederate Room, the furnishings of these rooms were reinstalled with a view to better presentation.

The Society was fortunate in having the assistance of 13 members of the Junior League of Baltimore, who acted as guides during a period of three months.

The employment of a registrar last April filled a gap that has long existed in the recording of museum acquisitions and the upkeep of the Society's permanent files. Mrs. Virginia Swarm has made considerable progress in catching up on the backlog, but several years will be necessary to bring up to date the card files according to classifications, names of donors and accession numbers.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman.*

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#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Miss Florence J. Kennedy, who had been assistant librarian for nearly 35 years, retired from active service in May. She had long concentrated on indexing genealogical materials and was a most useful member of the staff. A volunteer in the preparation of clippings for the Dielman Biographical Index, Miss Jessie M. Slee, was obliged to discontinue this important work, but Miss Mary Hiss took over much of the burden with the assistance of Miss Edith V. Thompson.

Mr. F. Garner Ranney obtained leave of absence for several months during the summer and Mr. David H. Fischer was employed in his place on a part-time basis for general library work. He was also able to devote time to the indexing of manuscripts.

The Library accessioned 420 lots during the year, many consisting of numerous items. Among them may be mentioned the Stone Papers, representing this prominent family of Charles County; papers of Maj.-Gen. I. Ridgeway Trimble, C. S. A., including letters of Lee and Jackson to General Trimble, which were given by his grandsons, Dr. I. R. Trimble, Jr., the Rev. David C. Trimble, and Mr. William C. Trimble; a collection of books, sheet music, photographs and scrapbooks, relating to the artistic and literary life of Baltimore, presented by the Misses Eleanor L. and Grace H. Turnbull; and a six-volume history of *Merchant Sail*, by the late William Armstrong Fairburn, presented by the Fairburn Marine Foundation. The most significant group of reference books received in many

years was presented by Mrs. J. Hall Pleasants from the library of her late distinguished husband. This consisted of 107 volumes relating to American silver and American painting. Included also were various works that have long been out of print.

Other papers relating to the following were presented or acquired during the year: letters of William Short from Miss Elizabeth S. Ridgely; letters of Brantz Mayer from Miss Elizabeth D. Steinman; letters of John Gibson and John Ross from Mrs. Alexander Randall Cheston and Mrs. Charles Lenning; account book, letters and other papers relating to the rope walk of Robert Wier from Mr. Robert Wier Wayland; genealogies of the Davis and related families from Mrs. John Staige Davis; business and family papers of the Garrett family from Mr. and Mrs. Robert Garrett; autograph album of Thomas Waters Griffith from Mrs. B. S. L. Davis.

In 1947 the National Society of Daughters of Founders and Patriots voted to restore the Calvert Papers as their Fiftieth Anniversary project. \$5,000 was appropriated for this purpose and the project was completed in March, 1957. An exhibition was held in the Library on the occasion of its completion.

The Daughters of Colonial Wars, Maryland Society, contributed \$50 for binding church records.

In 1957 537 books and pamphlets were catalogued. Expenditures for books and manuscripts amounted to \$1,107.00 and \$720.31 was spent for binding and repairing.

G. ROSS VEAZEY, *Chairman.*

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## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The death of Dr. Pleasants on August 24 brought to a close his lengthy connection with the publications of the Society, beginning in 1927 when he became editor of the *Archives*. He was also chairman of the Committee on Publications from 1948 until his death.

The usual quarterly issues of the *Magazine* appeared under the editorship of Dr. Francis C. Haber and the quarterly bulletin of the Society was continued under the editorship of the director. Volume LXVIII of the *Archives of Maryland* was in preparation and should appear during 1958.

The second printing of 8,000 copies of *My Maryland* was widely ordered by the schools of the State, and 3,185 copies have been sold. Leaflets for children continued in demand. As each leaflet in the series is exhausted, a new supply is ordered. The Star-Spangled Banner publications are distributed both to visitors and by mail.

The Hutzler Brothers Co. underwrote the cost of *Baltimore: A Picture History*, which was sponsored by the Society. Most of the preparatory work was done by the author, Mr. Beirne, and the Society's director in cooperation with Mrs. Stirling and other members of Hutzler's staff. The collections of the Society furnished a large proportion of the pictures used

in this book, while the Library staff assisted Mr. Beirne in checking for accuracy.

Various other publications of the Society were sold during the year, notably a complete set of the *Archives*, and other books issued in the series, "Studies in Maryland History."

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman*.

#### REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Net membership December 31, 1957.....	2780
Honorary .....	2
Life .....	49
Active .....	2729
	<hr/>
	2780

ELIZABETH CHEW WILLIAMS, *Chairman*.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

The Society offered two series of addresses, as usual, during the year 1957. The dates of the evening meetings, the speakers, and their topics were as follows:

January 21—Mrs. and Mrs. Richard Pratt. A discussion of famous American houses. (Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities.)

February 11—Annual Meeting. Open house and tour of exhibitions.

March 18—Mr. Frederick S. DeMarr. "Lord Baltimore's First American Colony." Illustrated.

April 30—Mr. Hamilton Owens. "Schools and Schoolmasters in Colonial Maryland."

May 15—Mr. Marriner S. Eccles. "The Relation of Monetary and Fiscal Policy to Economic Stability."

September 25—M. Pierre Boyer. "Lafayette, Friend of America."

October 10—Mr. Francis F. Beirne. "A Century of Baltimore History." Illustrated.

In the afternoon series, lectures were as follows:

February 19—Mrs. Martha G. Fales. "Early American Silver."

March 5—Dr. Arthur H. Merritt. "This Amazing America—The Story of Old Blue China."

JOHN E. SEMMES, *Chairman*.

## REPORT OF THE WAR RECORDS DIVISION

In 1957 the Society's War Records Division completed the manuscript for *Maryland In World War II—Home Front Volunteer Services*, and State officials awarded a printing contract on the basis of competitive bids. Upon publication this book will complete the original four-volume program planned by the Committee.

The Division also worked at the long task of alphabetizing about 250,000 copies of the discharges of the State's World War II veterans. At the year's end all were broken down through the second letter of the last name; those from A to M were separated through the third letter; and those from A to F were fully alphabetized. This work continues.

At a conference with Governor Theodore R. McKeldin and Major General Milton A. Reckord, The Adjutant General, plans were formulated to publish an alphabetical register of those Marylanders who served in World War II.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*.

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## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Many calls for talks on Maryland history were met by the Society's officers and staff. The President, as usual, spoke on the Society's work on many occasions, often on specific historical topics in various parts of the state and occasionally outside its borders. The Director, Mr. Foster, Mr. Harold R. Manakee, and Miss Eugenia C. Holland also addressed various groups. Mr. Manakee had charge of conducting or supervising tours by school children of the Society's exhibitions. He organized and presented a series of 8 meetings in the "Workshop on Maryland History" in which 177 teachers participated.

W. CALVIN CHESNUT, *Chairman*

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH  
OTHER SOCIETIES

The Committee organized the first conference of historical societies of Maryland that has ever been held. It met on June 15 at the Society, adjourning for lunch at the Stafford Hotel, and then returned to the Society for the final session. More than 50 persons attended and almost all county historical societies were represented, as well as the Historical Society of York County, Pa.

Those who attended agreed at the close of the meeting that the sessions had been well worth while. Though no formal organization was affected, the consensus was that a similar conference should be held from time to time.

Among groups that held meetings at the Society's headquarters during the year were the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland; the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland and the Colonial Dames of America, Chapter I, (joint meeting); the Woman's Eastern Shore Society; the Daughters of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland; the Society of the Ark and the Dove; the Thomas Johnson Chapter of the D. A. R.; the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities; and the history teachers of the Baltimore City public schools.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman.*

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### COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

Through the industry and careful work of a member of the Committee, Mr. R. H. Gibson, the Maritime Collection as a whole has for the first time been recorded in complete detail. Mr. Gibson spent at least a day a week for much of the year entering the name, a brief description, and pertinent data on each object. He also helped to relocate parts of the collection and stored items of lesser importance, giving as well valuable technical advice in regard to a number of acquisitions.

Mr. R. H. Randall, in charge of new accessions, has obtained gifts of many items of interest and value. His wide acquaintance among Chesapeake watermen and his knowledge of shipyard activity have been exceedingly helpful to the committee.

Principal accessions during the year included two original watercolors of Baltimore clippers by W. J. Huggins, English marine artist. These were acquired in New York through the keen eyes of another member, Mr. John Goldsborough Earle. A good model of the CHESAPEAKE, first steamboat on the Bay, was presented by Mrs. Joseph M. Wright, through Mr. Graham Wood. A Wheeler Line steamboat model was presented by Mr. F. E. Wheeler. A set of framed English aquatints of the Nelson era naval battles was received from the Dr. W. B. Wood collection. These are the work of Robert Dodd, and mark the summit of the engraver's art. A carved trailboard of the bay schooner APOLLA was acquired from Mr. R. H. Burgess, of Newport News, through exchange.

The inventory of our collection, excluding library materials, now includes 1376 items in 19 different categories. There are 154 models, 111 paintings and drawings, 108 prints, 61 pieces of ship-carving, 207 tools, 142 items of gear and 25 pieces of navigator's equipment. The collection is gaining in size and stature, but much remains to be done in its further development and display. We regard this a a community project of the first importance.

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman.*

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## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

## GENERAL FUND

## STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

*for the year ended December 31, 1957*

<i>Income</i>	
Dues .....	\$27,313.00
Contributions .....	6,446.00
Investments	
Endowment Fund .....	\$10,142.85
Daingerfield Fund .....	7,825.54
Wild Fund .....	2,509.20
A. Morris Tyson .....	815.88
	<hr/>
	\$21,293.47
Legacies	
H. Oliver Thompson Estate .....	\$ 1,528.14
Jane J. Cook Estate .....	596.97
	<hr/>
	\$ 2,125.11
Publications	
Sales—General .....	\$ 8,674.06
Advertising .....	1,012.80
Star Spangled Banner Publications ....	215.67
My Maryland (publication) .....	8,715.82
	<hr/>
	\$18,618.35
Miscellaneous Income	
Service Charges and Fees .....	\$ 329.21
Rent—209, 211, 213 W. Monument St. ....	6,519.21
Rent—614-616 Park Avenue .....	3,696.00
Sale of J. C. Morris Effects .....	2,602.31
Other Income .....	1,680.54
	<hr/>
	\$14,827.27
 TOTAL INCOME .....	 <hr/>
	\$90,623.20

<i>Expenses</i>	
Addresses .....	\$ 974.84
Building Supplies .....	1,895.19
Commissions .....	1,052.50
Depreciation .....	28.50
Gallery .....	659.56
Heat .....	2,113.21
Insurance .....	2,310.90
Interest Expense .....	25.08
Library—Binding and Repairs .....	720.31
" —Books and Manuscripts .....	800.01
" —Miscellaneous .....	829.31
Light and Hot Water .....	1,014.12
Membership Extension .....	282.46
Maintenance and Repairs .....	874.74
" My Maryland " Publication .....	12,179.06
Miscellaneous Expense .....	1,173.45

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY REPORT FOR 1957 209

Office Supplies .....	1,027.93	
Postage .....	169.09	
Photographs and Prints Ordered by Patrons .....	149.02	
Publications—General .....	10,697.96	
Salaries .....	41,701.00	
Scott House Expenses .....	1,348.24	
Morris House Expenses .....	1,624.30	
Taxes—Social Security .....	1,202.22	
Taxes—Property .....	787.39	
Telephone .....	1,045.44	
Travel .....	498.37	
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES .....</b>		<b>\$87,184.20</b>
<b>EXCESS of INCOME over EXPENDITURES transferred to SURPLUS .....</b>		<b><u>(\$3,439.00)</u></b>

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1957

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

<i>Current Assets</i>			
Cash in Bank .....	\$	7,087.14	
Petty Cash .....		100.00	
Due from Endowment Fund .....		41,741.29	
			<b>\$ 48,928.43</b>
<i>Fixed Assets</i>			
Real Estate .....	\$100,000.00		
Books .....	1.00		
Manuscripts and Prints .....	1.00		
Paintings and Statuary .....	1.00		
Furniture and Fixtures .....	\$286.00		
Less Depreciation Allowance .....	199.50	86.50	
			<b>\$100,089.50</b>
<b>TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS .....</b>			<b>\$149,017.93</b>

*Endowment Fund*

Cash Corpus .....	\$	729.07	
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society .....		90.00	
Mortgage Receivable .....		18,398.54	
Due from Special Funds .....		5,000.00	
Real Estate .....		316,614.76	
Bonds .....		38,257.46	
Stocks .....		56,774.54	
Ground Rent .....		666.66	
<b>TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS .....</b>			<b>\$436,531.03</b>

*Daingerfield Fund Assets*

Cash Corpus .....	\$	106.67	
Bonds .....		66,223.74	
Stocks .....		87,283.86	
<b>TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS .....</b>			<b>\$153,614.27</b>

*Wild Fund*

Cash Corpus .....	\$ 152.41
Bonds .....	30,300.00
Stocks .....	31,734.11
Ground Rent .....	1,307.00

TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS ..... \$ 63,493.52

TOTAL ASSETS ..... \$802,656.75

## CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

*Current Liabilities*

Special Fund Account ..... \$ 8,083.33

*Net Worth*

Surplus ..... \$140,934.60

TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES and NET WORTH .. \$149,017.93

*Endowment Funds*

Due to General Fund .....	\$ 41,741.29
Endowment Fund .....	394,789.74

TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ..... \$436,531.03

Daingerfield Fund ..... \$153,614.27

TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ..... \$153,614.27

Wild Fund ..... \$ 63,493.52

TOTAL WILD FUND ..... \$ 63,493.52

\$802,656.75

June Fifth

Nineteen Hundred Fifty Eight

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland as of December 31, 1957. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly, included tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we deemed necessary.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense, fairly present the financial position of the Maryland Historical Society at December 31, 1957, and the result of operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK,  
*Certified Public Accountant*



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Fifth Maryland Regiment was mustered out.—*October 22.*

Treaty of peace with Spain signed.—*December 10.*

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